

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH WITH THE COOPERATION
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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OCTOBER, 1931

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Twenty-five reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

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VOLUME XXVII

OCTOBER, 1931

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Editorial

CONCERNING THE JOURNAL'S DATE OF PUBLICATION

For over a score of years the CLASSICAL JOURNAL appeared regularly upon the first of the month whose name appeared upon the front cover of each issue. This system, however, involved difficulty and expense for the Association as regards the final number of each volume. By June first many schools have completed the year's work, and their teachers have scattered for the summer, many of them to resume their work at another post in the autumn. As a result some subscribers never received the June issue at all, and many others not until they returned from their summer vacations. The Association, also, was obliged to expend a considerable sum each year for return postage on numbers which thus failed of proper delivery. Accordingly, soon after the undersigned became business manager of the JOURNAL in 1927 he suggested that we adopt the practice of many other national periodicals by advancing the date of publication two weeks. For the last four years, therefore, the October number has appeared on September 15, and so on with the other issues through the year.

Though this change practically eliminated the problem of the June number, it created another, but somewhat smaller, difficulty as regards the October issue. At the end of August, when wrappers are sent to the printers so that the October issue may reach the members by September 15, the Secretary's office has not been

able to secure a complete and corrected list of addresses; and so expense has again been incurred for the return of miscarried copies. This situation has developed more particularly with reference to our college and university subscribers, whose work often does not begin until almost the end of September.

Therefore, it has seemed advisable to remedy this difficulty by delaying the mailing of the first two issues of the year, the first by two weeks and the second by one week. Accordingly, the present issue, though actually printed upon the same date as has been customary during the last quadrennium, will be placed in the mails so as to reach our readers on October first, and the November issue so as to reach them October 22. Thereafter the remaining seven numbers will appear on the fifteenth of each month, including the June issue on May 15. It is hoped that this variation will be as effective in dealing with this situation at the beginning of the academic year as the other one was in respect to that at the end of the year. Subscribers can themselves be of material assistance to the officers of the Association by remitting their dues and sending notification of changes of address to the secretary of their own Association with the maximum of promptness.

R. C. F.

A REPEATED ANNOUNCEMENT

Anyone intending to submit a paper for publication in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL would save labor for himself and the editors-in-chief by securing from the editorial office in Iowa City a copy of a leaflet entitled "Suggestions to CLASSICAL JOURNAL Contributors." Authors who fail to do this are frequently requested to have their MSS retyped.

JULIUS CAESAR'S LUCK

By ELIZABETH TAPPAN
Vassar College

It is natural that the idea of chance, particularly of luck, or happy chance, should have been associated with successful military commanders; the element of the incalculable, which must always be reckoned with in human affairs, demands more consideration than ever in that uncertain business, war. Most of the ancient historians have taken some account of the element of chance: Thucydides, e.g., often conceives it as a counterbalance to human ability or human counsel, *τύχη* against *ἀρετή* or *γνώμη*; Polybius, whose goddess is truth, usually regards chance as subordinate to skill or prudence; Sallust, contemplating his own unsettled time with discouragement, calls *fortuna* the mistress of all things.¹ In Latin historical tradition, *fortuna* or *felicitas*, with the epithet *felix*, were frequently associated with great commanders. In discussing Pompey's fitness for a great command, e.g., Cicero (*Pro Lege Manilia* 10, 28 and 16, 47) includes *felicitas* as one of the four essential qualities of the great commander.

One readily thinks of Caesar among the great commanders who possessed the gift of fortune; certainly the facts of his military career indicate an unusual share of good luck; we are even likely to think of him as one of those who, like Sulla Felix, apparently thought of themselves as children of good fortune. Setting aside for the time the evidence of Caesar himself and of his contemporaries, one finds few indications in later writers of any definite belief in Caesar's luck during his own lifetime. The watchword at Thapsus was *Felicitas* (so the author of the *Bellum Africanum* says in Chap. LXXXIII); among the evidences of extraordinary

¹ Cf. Thucydides v, 75, 3, and vi, 78, 2; Polybius i, 4, especially 5, and x, 2, 5; and Sallust, *Catiline* 8.

honor done to Caesar toward the end of his life, Dio (XLIV, 6, 1) mentions the decision to swear by Caesar's *τύχη*. On their own authority, however, historians of later times refer to Caesar as notably lucky. Appian, e.g., in his final summary of Caesar (*Civil Wars* II, 21, 149), comparing him with Alexander, calls him *ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχέστατος ἐς πάντα*, "a man most successful in regard to all undertakings," and adds that he trusted no more to his knowledge of military affairs than to his daring and luck.²

But the story that comes to mind most readily in connection with Caesar's luck is one that is found in no contemporary record — like more than one interesting tale of Caesar — the anecdote of his attempt to sail back from the east coast of the Adriatic to Brundisium to see why his naval reinforcements had not come. The elements of the story are well enough known: the small boat, the disguise, the storm, the boatman's terror, Caesar's dramatic and timely disclosure of his identity: "Take heart; you have aboard Caesar and Caesar's luck" (*τύχη*). Plutarch tells the story twice, in his *Life of Caesar* XXXVIII and in *The Fortune of the Roman People* 6; the latter anecdote begins with an apology: "About Julius Caesar, I would hesitate to say that it was by luck that he was raised to greatness, if he himself had not borne witness to it"; and at the end of the story he reiterates that Caesar did really believe that luck was sailing with him and accompanying him at all times. Dio (XLI, 46) omits the specific mention of *τύχη* in Caesar's remark — "It is Caesar that you carry" is enough; but at the end he comments on Caesar's self-confidence. Appian's story (II, 57, 237) follows the same outline; when the little boat had to put back, Caesar was annoyed, he says, and blamed divine influence, *τὸ δαιμόνιον*. Lucan, though not technically a historian in our sense, has in the *Pharsalia* (v, 510-677) a version older than these; *Sola placet fortuna comes*, he says at the start and tells the story with a wealth of eloquence on Caesar's

² On Sulla Felix, cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 43, 137. Velleius (II, 27, 5) notes that Sulla would have had a juster claim to the epithet Felix if the final outcome of his life had equalled the fortunate outcome of his victories. On Caesar, cf. Velleius II, 51, 2; he pictures Caesar as blaming *fortuna* in Spain (II, 55, 3). Also, Appian, *C. W.* II, 14, 97.

part. Here, as almost always in the *Pharsalia*, Caesar is the sinister figure; and his luck, we feel, is a dubious blessing. Upon Caesar's safe landing at the end, Lucan comments (v, 677): *Fortunamque suam tacta tellure recepit*, i.e. the fortune that he deserves — whatever lot awaits him. It is interesting to see that Suetonius in his biography of Caesar has not a word of the story, though his version of the crossing of the Rubicon, e.g., shows that he can embroider when it suits him. Perhaps the tale seemed to his practical, if open, mind somewhat pointless after all, as Caesar's luck seems to have achieved little immediate result on the occasion in question.

It would overstep the limits of the present subject, Julius Caesar's luck, to attempt to trace even rapidly the association of *fortuna* in some form (such as *Praenestina*, *Redux*) with the successive rulers of the Empire, an association that must inevitably have influenced the later accounts of Caesar in retrospect. So, too, the increasing popularization of philosophies during the early Empire would tend to bring chance, an inevitable theme of philosophical speculation, into the discussion of almost any historical figure, especially of a military leader, no matter when he had lived.

But what was the view of Caesar's luck in his own time, so far as we can discover it from contemporary evidence? Caesar himself, a singularly objective recorder, offers ample material indicative of success — luck, perhaps — in his *Commentaries*; the letters and speeches of Cicero, of course, reveal something of Caesar's fortune from a contemporary point of view. Some of Caesar's significant allusions to *fortuna* have been considered by W. Warde Fowler³; in the course of a summary of the increasing prevalence of allusions to *fortuna* in the Ciceronian and Augustan periods, he notes the essentially Roman belief in *virtus* as the controlling power in life, and the Roman distrust of anything so capricious as fortune. His earlier discussion is here summed up as follows (p. 74):

³ At some length in *Class. Rev.* xvii (1903), 153-56, and very briefly in a general discussion of *fortuna* in *Roman Ideas of Deity*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1914), 74f.

But neither Cicero nor Lucretius thought of this power [fortune] as a deity, though . . . they may both have had moments when they might think of it as in some sense divine. Nor did the other great intellect of that age, of whom it has often been said that he believed in his own luck or star as helping him through life. I have endeavored to show [in the *Classical Review*] . . . that this cannot be proved from Caesar's own writings, and that when he mentions *Fortuna* it is only in the ordinary sense of luck or accident, which might be counteracted by a man's own will or energy.

Wondering whether there is, strictly speaking, an entirely "ordinary" sense of luck, I have examined in some detail all mention of *fortuna* in Caesar's writings. The examination, of which there is an abstract in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LVIII (1927), xxvii, substantiates Warde Fowler's general conclusions. In particular, it was found that, as he said, fortune is often counterbalanced by "a man's own will or energy," usually by *virtus* or *consilium*, or both. This balanced use of *fortuna* — *virtus*, by the way, is by no means peculiar to Caesar; it is frequent not only in the historians but in Roman proverbial sayings from Ennius down; there is a familiar, if later, instance in Horace's ode to Fortune (*Odes* III, 29, especially vss. 53-55). In the *Gallic War*, e.g., in the account of the desperate resistance of the troops of Sabinus and Cotta, just before the end, Caesar says (*B. G.* v, 34, 2) *Erant* [i.e. the Romans and their enemy, the Eburones] *et virtute et genere pugnandi pares. Nostri tamen etsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant*. Fortune, sided against them, overcomes their valor; thus Caesar palliates the disaster, due, as a matter of fact, to an error in judgment on the part of one of his own *legati*. Again, in the contest of Pullo and Vorenus, during the siege of Quintus Cicero's camp, it was *fortuna*, Caesar tells us (*B. G.* v, 44, 14), who had so ordered the contest that it was impossible to tell which of the two heroes was to be preferred to the other, after all. So in reference to the unsuccessful pursuit of Ambiorix, an often quoted passage (*B. G.* vi, 30, 2): *Multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna*. Just as it had been a bit of pure luck (*magno casu*) for Basilus to come upon Ambiorix, so it was a piece of luck for Ambiorix (*magnae fuit fortunae*) to escape

alive after Basilus had discovered him. Basilus' lack of success is laid to the fortuitous character of war in general. Sometimes Caesar gives an enemy the benefit of this excuse of bad luck, notably in the case of Vercingetorix (*B. G.* vii, 89, 2): finally overcome by Caesar in spite of his own courage and ability, he tells his followers that he will take the initiative in giving himself up to Caesar *quoniam sit fortunae cedendum*, as Caesar reports his words. This small act of magnanimity toward Vercingetorix — if such it is — established no precedent for Caesar's subsequent treatment of him.⁴

One is not surprised to find that in the much more apologetic *Civil War*, composed as it must have been near the end of Caesar's life, he again uses *fortuna* to explain untoward circumstances. For instance, in the midst of Caesar's difficulties during the blockade of Ilerda, a scarcity of grain against which his men had to contend is laid to a change of fortune (*B. C.* i, 52, 3). In the action around Dyrrachium (*B. C.* iii, 26), *fortuna* supplements the ability of Caesar's officers in bringing naval reinforcements across from Brundisium: *Nostri usi fortunae beneficio . . . tamen impetum classis timebant si forte ventus remisisset*; the wind had been contrary, it is now helping them, but they do not trust it. At last they bring the ships to harbor *incredibili felicitate*. (This, by the way, is the nearest approach Caesar himself makes to a boatman anecdote.) It is significant of the use of *fortuna* to excuse, as well as characteristic of the generally apologetic tone of the *Civil War* as compared with the *Gallic*, that in the account of Curio's failure in Africa the mention of *fortuna* is relatively frequent (*B. C.* ii, 32, *passim*); as though Caesar were preparing his readers in advance for the disastrous outcome of his general's campaign. *Virtus* is not lacking, he says (ii, 41, 3), but at the last the soldiers realize that only *fortuna* may save the lives of some of them (ii, 41, 8). In Caesar's *cohortatio* to his men before the battle of Pharsalia, he emphasizes, as usual, his dependence on their valor (iii, 89, 4); during the rout he urges them to avail

⁴ For other examples of *fortuna* as an excuse cf. *B. G.* vi, 35, 2, Caesar among the Eburones; and vi, 42, 1, a palliation of Quintus Cicero's unsuccessful command in his second year, a contrast to his first brilliant performance.

themselves of the lucky chance to take Pompey's camp (III, 95, 1). The phrase *beneficio fortunae* used here is no doubt, as Warde Fowler comments in the *Classical Review* xvii (1903), 154, conventional, but not therefore, it would seem to me, unmeaning: the engagement as a whole had gone successfully, according to Caesar's plans; this last turn of events was unplanned, a sort of *bonne bouche* given the troops by *fortuna*, while the essential victory was still due to the commander's *consilium* and to the *virtus* of his troops.

These examples would seem to indicate that in his use of the term *fortuna* Caesar has deliberately availed himself of a familiar rhetorical contrast, that of *fortuna* — *virtus*, to excuse or explain mistakes and failures. Further than that, the evidence of Caesar's own attitude toward fortune as a power or divinity would seem to be negative. Certainly he avoids declaring his own adherence to any such belief, and apparently prefers to leave his reader with the impression that his misfortunes — such as they were — and the disasters and mistakes of his subordinates happened in spite of planning and ability, but that his successes were his own and that luck could not claim the credit for them.

Here is little to substantiate the notion of Caesar as a child of fortune. What evidence is to be found in his contemporaries? Cicero's mention of good fortune in his speech for Pompey's military command, and his discussion of Caesar's own good fortune in the *De Provinciis Consularibus* and *Pro Marcello* are familiar. In the first of these Cicero is adapting his remarks to a popular audience, and so, presumably, to the popular conception of fortune; it is a quality that great Roman generals of the past have possessed, he reminds his hearers, as an adjunct, to be sure, of *virtus* (*Pro Lege Manilia* 16, 47). As luck is a quality of which one may speak as one speaks of the power of the gods, only with fear and restraint, he may not safely boast of Pompey's *felicitas*⁵ but will merely indicate it by rehearsing his past achievements.

⁵ Throughout this passage Cicero uses the terms *fortuna* and *felicitas* almost interchangeably; for the observance of a distinction, cf. 4, 10 in the same speech.

How far this expression of belief may be a modification or popularization of the view of Cicero the philosopher it seems irrelevant to consider here. The point to be taken into consideration is that public speeches are enlightening not only for their representation of the speaker's own views but quite as much for their reflection of the views of his hearers, particularly when the speaker is a sensitive and adroit orator such as Cicero. If this is so, those speeches in which Cicero refers to fortune in connection with Caesar, whether Caesar is actually the hearer (as in the speech for the pardon of Marcellus) or indirectly, as the person to be satisfied ultimately (as in the speech for the consular provinces), in both cases, one may expect to find in Cicero's words a more or less clear reflection of Caesar's views.

Caesar was not, of course, physically speaking, an auditor of the earlier of these two speeches, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, but he was, so to speak, the ultimate audience. The matter in hand is really no longer open to discussion when Cicero delivers his plea for the extension of Caesar's command in Gaul — doubtless it had been settled at the meeting at Luca; but Caesar is the person most interested in the way in which Cicero puts the case. What has Cicero to say of Caesar's achievements in Gaul so far? Certainly the utter defeat of the Helvetians and the repulse of Ariovistus two summers before, the subjugation of the Belgae in the preceding summer, are plain enough indications of Caesar's success. His own terse statement of achievement at the end of Book II, with the mention of the *supplicatio* of fifteen days "which had been granted to no one before that time" (II, 35), is perhaps no less effective than the hyperbole of Cicero's speech: "Let the Alps sink into the earth; we no longer need any protection to Italy in the north" — thanks to Caesar (*De Prov. Cons.* 13, 33 — 14, 34). Earlier in the speech, Cicero had mentioned Caesar's achievements very briefly with the remark that he is the one man needed to complete what has already been almost completed by him (8, 19f). Cicero had once supported a ten-day *supplicatio* for Pompey, he says, in wonder at his ability and courage in completing the Mithridatic War; now he has supported an even longer one

in honor of Caesar. Caesar's conquest of difficulties is mentioned; the only *fortuna* referred to is the happy state, the glory, the triumph, the plaudits, the universal esteem Caesar might reap if he were not willing to put the interests of the state first and stay in Gaul longer. The sea has already been made free to Rome *virtute Cn. Pompei*, he continues; it was the *divina atque eximia virtus* of Marius (13, 31) that once protected Rome from northern invaders; now it is Caesar's wise policy (*ratio*) that is aiding Gaul. He has fought most successfully (*felicissime* is a slight concession, perhaps); he has, it is true, received fortune's generous bounty (14, 35); but if he fears to tempt her further, we are confident that he can go on successfully without her. Cicero has used the argument most effective for the case at issue, and one probably not displeasing to Caesar, either; he would be willing, so far as his own words in the *Gallic War* show, to stand on his record. The part allotted to fortune is less conspicuous than the one Cicero gave her in his recommendation for a continuance of command for that other great commander, Pompey, in the year 66; one may safely assume that this shift of emphasis is made with a view, too, to Caesar's wish; Caesar would prefer just a small concession to good luck, with the emphasis on his value to the state in Gaul, independently of the favor of fortune.

Ten years later, after the conclusion of the Gallic War and the successful termination of most of the civil disturbances that followed, Cicero again had occasion to refer to Caesar's achievements with a view to pleasing Caesar, this time actually the auditor of the speech. In the speech for the pardon of Marcellus, there is definite reference to *fortuna* in connection with Caesar's military successes — even the concession that in war she may claim for herself (the construction is personal) a share of the glory *quasi suo iure* (*Pro Marc.* 2, 6f). True, she is only one of the claimants, together with the valor of troops, favorable ground, helpful allies, and other factors. But in the clemency which Caesar is now showing, even "that mistress of human affairs, fortune herself," as he calls her (2, 7), cannot claim a share; the rewards of justice and mildness are Caesar's own by right

(*propria Caesaris*). There follows a guarded, but none the less pointed, comparison of Caesar's clemency with the possible cruelty and lack of restraint that might have accompanied the victory of Caesar's adversaries (6, 17f). Cicero refers again to Caesar's *fortuna* and glory, to his success (*felicitas*), and contrasts the lesser rewards of fortune with the glories bestowed by *virtus* (6, 19). That this is no mere subtle turn of flattery seems clear from the grave exhortation following: Caesar's *virtus* — and Cicero classed self-control and mercy among its components years before (*Pro Lege Manilia* 13, 36) — Caesar's very *virtus* lays upon him a solemn responsibility for the future. We may safely assume, I think, that the subordination of military glory and even the mention of *fortuna* as an element of military success were not unwelcome to Cicero's hearer, still less the praise of his clemency. Whether the closing sermon was equally to his taste, we may perhaps wonder; Caesar seems, at moments, to have been looking somewhat reluctantly at any future at all, if we may put any faith in the remark of Caesar quoted by Cicero as the text of his sermon: *Satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae* (*Pro Marc.* 8, 25).

The evidence of the three speeches considered would, then, indicate that *fortuna*, a quality that Cicero had attributed to Pompey as one of four indispensable qualities, becomes in Caesar's case, certainly no less evident, but of relatively less and less importance.

For the first period in question, that of the *Pro Lege Manilia*, there is no corroborative evidence from the Letters; for the second, the period of *De Provinciis Consularibus*, there is little: a reference to Cicero's reluctant compliance with the renewed triumvirate (*Ad Atticum* iv, 5, 1) and, after the arrival of his brother Quintus in Gaul, enthusiastic and genuine interest in the wonders of Britain — magnificent material for a play — and eagerness for Caesar's criticism of his verse (*Ad Quintum Fratrem* ii, 16, 4). On Caesar's side, one may see a trace of their friendly relations in the tact with which he rebukes the outcome of Quintus' second command, by laying part of the blame on *fortuna*. Caesar's hand, to which he entrusts young Trebatius, is glorious for

its victory and good faith (*Ad Familiares* VII, 5, 3); it is not to Caesar's luck but to his more stable qualities that Cicero would entrust a promising young friend.

While Cicero is on the way to Cilicia in the year 51 and while he is administering his province, there is frequent mention of *fortuna* in the Letters, not in reference to any success so much as in anxiety; he is afraid that his careful military precautions may not stand against a raid by the Parthi, and hopes that they will keep quiet and that fortune will come to his aid (*Ad Att.* v, 9, 1). After hostilities begin, he admits a certain success (*exitum satis felicem*), but it is outweighed by fear for what may follow (*Ad Fam.* II, 10, 2 and 4). When he plans to leave Quintus in charge, he admits to Caelius (*Ad Att.* VI, 6, 3) that the enemy have retreated *incredibili felicitate*, i.e. beyond his hopes (cf. also *Ad Att.* VI, 6, 4 and *Ad Fam.* II, 11, 1). Throughout this time he often refers to *fortuna* (or to *felicitas*) in dread of the unaccountable; perhaps his own military responsibility helped to put him out of conceit with the relative importance and desirability of *fortuna* in a commander, and opened his eyes even wider than Caesar's accomplishments in Gaul had already opened them to the importance of other elements in any military situation.

From the beginning of the Civil War on, *fortuna*, as one might expect in such troubled times, recurs fairly frequently in Cicero's correspondence. What, e.g., will be the outcome of Caesar's high-handed acts at the beginning of hostilities? "Can it be right to maintain an army, seize cities, thinking of all sorts of illegal acts, for the sake of sovereignty?" (*Ad Att.* VII, 11, 1), Cicero has evidently been playing with the possibility of joining Caesar⁶; but he concludes *Sibi habeat suam fortunam* ("Let him keep his own luck, whatever it may prove to be"). So, in thinking of joining Pompey, he mentions his projected course half-heartedly as *consilium*, then calls it *fortuna*, i.e. Pompey's uncertain lot, to which he may have to join his own: "Not only Pompey's considerable

⁶ As is suggested in a note on the passage by R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*: London, Longmans, Green and Co. (1894), IV, p. 15.

services to my welfare, and the friendly relation that exists between us, but the welfare of the state itself impel me to think that I ought to unite my course to his, or, if you like, my lot to his lot" (*Ad Att.* viii, 3, 2). Or later, "Now that planning fails, we have to depend on luck" (*Ad Att.* x, 2, 1). But as time goes on, particularly after Cicero has definitely cast his lot with Pompey, the nature of *fortuna* seems less and less open to question, i.e. there seems to be less and less chance of its proving good fortune. Caesar for his part may still be in a conciliatory mood, open-minded about peace, but Pompey is hankering after Sulla's methods: *Mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit* (*Ad Att.* ix, 7, 3). Again, Cicero refers with deep apprehension to Pompey's often repeated query of justification, *Sulla potuit, ego non potero?* (*Ad Att.* ix, 10, 2). Later in the same letter (§ 6), he uses an ominous verb (*sullaturit*), doubtless of his own invention, to describe Pompey's dangerous proclivities. After the decisive defeat of Pompey and Cicero's final return to Rome on sufferance, much of his correspondence is with those who share his lot; *fortuna* recurs in the Letters of the year 46 meaning "the way things turned out," i.e. "our hard luck" (e.g. in *Ad Fam.* v, 21, 4). In the same regretful tone is the *mutatio omnium rerum atque temporum* of *Ad Fam.* iv, 13, 2, and the allusion to the vanquished (*Ad Fam.* ix, 13, 3) as *homines miseros et fortuna, quam vitare nemo potest, magis quam culpa calamitosos*.

Even after Caesar's death, Cicero, looking back upon the motives that led to his own allegiance to Pompey, said to Matius (*Ad Fam.* xi, 27, 4): *Secutum illud tempus est cum me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor meus coegit sive officium sive fortuna* ("It may have been mere chance after all, for all my conscientious scruples"). Times have changed, and Cicero has apparently changed with them. *Fortuna*, chance, luck — to a defeated Pompeian and approver of the assassination of Caesar — seems to have been luck with the dice loaded. The once fortunate Pompey had shown signs of hoping to emulate Sulla, that other child of fortune — Felix, as he called himself — and had lived to find

himself the sport of fortune in the end. Caesar, who has acknowledged, it would seem, no more association with fortune than would be inevitable in the case of so conspicuously successful a commander, would apparently be judged on his own merits.

This is not the occasion for an inquiry into the motives and policy of the last months of Caesar's life, into the policy which he may have developed to build up for himself not the support of fortune — the adjunct of great commanders — but an association of some more lofty and superhuman kind, to support that precarious eminence to which he had come. Certainly Cicero's disillusioned summary of Caesar the tyrant at the end of the Second *Philippic* (45, 116) contains no suggestion of the fall of a favorite of fortune: *Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, magnis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat*. He took great risks; but, so far as Cicero could see, looking back over Caesar's career with what was, in comparison with his scorn of Antony, almost impartiality, he had taken risks and great ones, but he had not trusted himself to fortune; with Caesar, it had all been calculated and deliberate.

LUDWIG AND SCHLIEMANN¹

By JOHN A. SCOTT
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The author in the Preface (pp. v f) tells us that the members of the Schliemann family in Athens attracted by his fame as a writer of biographies requested him to prepare this Life and that they put at his service all the private memoranda, letters, diaries, and accounts of the famous head of their family.

Schliemann in his early youth formed the habit of copying in longhand every letter he wrote, leaving out nothing, not even the most trifling details regarding the weather, his health, or salutations; and he also kept every bit of mail he received, which he carefully dated. The material thus hoarded amounts to the huge total of one hundred and fifty large volumes.

"Even in this instance," Ludwig states (p. vii), "I should not have departed from my principle never to research but always merely to describe, had not the character of this man been of greater interest than his genius." Equally illuminating is another principle (p. ix): "I must risk incurring the displeasure of scholars by declining . . . to quote sources." We are accordingly dealing with a rhetorical biography, where facts and sources play only a minor part and the real purpose is not to recreate a Schliemann but rather to tell a thrilling story in a thrilling way. But the fact that the wife and the daughter of the great excavator helped in reading the letters and in the general preparation of the book is a seeming assurance that it is based on the matter found in the letters and the other documents left to his family by Schliemann. These letters and diaries were written in more than twelve languages; hence Ludwig needed linguistic help.

¹ Cf. Emil Ludwig, *Schliemann*, the Story of a Gold-seeker, translated by D. F. Tait: Boston, Little, Brown, and Company (1931). Pp. xvii + 297.

Much of the book covers familiar material, but matter new to me is as follows:

(1) Schliemann in his *Autobiography*² says that he was thrown out upon the world as a boy because of "a great disaster which befel our family." It now appears (p. 7) that this disaster was the driving of his father from his parish as a clergyman because of the fact that he was dishonest and immoral in the worst sort of immorality, a drunkard, the debaucher of a young woman of his own household. The son despised the sort of life that his father lived, yet he supported him in comfort until he died at the age of ninety, and he even cared for the woman his father married and later abandoned. His own mother had died broken-hearted at the baseness of her husband.

(2) Schliemann's great and immediate success in business was not the result of good fortune so much as of unusual energy, absolute honesty, and foresight in seeing what would be needed. This will illustrate: It was known that the Czar was to issue an important series of state papers; as soon as Schliemann heard this, he searched for the makers of fine paper, secured an agency, hastened to St. Petersburg, and secured the contract at a price greatly in advance of the next bidder, for he convinced the Minister that the dignity of the Czar demanded this superior paper (pp. 66 and 77). He laid in a supply of cotton when our Civil War began and was thus ready for the emergency and the great advance in price. Ludwig is especially able in the parts that deal with Schliemann's business career.

(3) When Schliemann came to California in search of his brother, he decided to profit by the gold rush and opened a bank in Sacramento and was on hand for business from six in the morning until ten in the evening; as the fortune hunters came from all parts of the world, he carried on business in eight different languages. In eighteen months he was satisfied that he had seen enough of California and "with very considerable gains . . . he returned to St. Petersburg" (p. 59).

(4) When I was searching for facts concerning Schliemann

² *Apud Ilios, the City and Country*: London, John Murray (1880), 6.

and Indianapolis, cf. the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xvii (1922), 404-06, I was told that he had shown to a gentleman a picture of a young Athenian girl and had explained that as soon as the divorce had been granted he would return to Athens and marry her. I had assumed that he had already met this young woman, but he had not. He wrote to an Athenian friend to select him a Greek wife. This friend hurried to the home of a relative in hard circumstances, had the sixteen-year-old daughter take her picture in borrowed raiment, and sent the picture to Schliemann, then in Indianapolis; hence he had never seen Sophia Engastromenos until after he had secured his divorce. When he met her in Athens, he asked her why she desired to marry him; and this little girl at once replied that it was "because my parents told me that you are a rich man." This enraged Schliemann, and he interviewed at least one hundred and fifty Greek girls, then decided to marry Sophia, which he did early in September, less than three months after securing his divorce in Indianapolis. (Pp. 114-16).

I had supposed that his break with the Russian wife was due to his enthusiasm for Greece; but she and he never were mated in sympathies, she had refused him several times, then took him for his wealth. He wrote to a Russian friend long before he secured his divorce: "She urges me to take a mistress . . . she represents me everywhere as a tyrant, as a despot and a libertine" (p. 90). Too much space is given in this book to his troubles with his Russian wife, who refused to leave Russia (p. 91); and I cannot comprehend why Mrs. Sophia Schliemann, her son, and her daughter allowed all this to be printed.

(5) It is new to me that Schliemann tried to sell the Great Treasure found at Troy to the British Museum and to the Russian Government, but offered to give it to the Louvre. The directors of the Louvre hesitated; but meanwhile he had forgiven the neglect with which he had been regarded by his native Germany and gave this find to Berlin, where he himself unpacked the objects and arranged them for permanent exhibition (pp. 152 and 243).

(6) His excavations at Mycenae were made all but impossible by the opposition of the Greek authorities, who treated him as a bandit, watched him, searched him, forced him not to dig in the spot he desired or in the manner he chose; and at last in utter despair he sent this message to the Minister of Education: "I regard it as superfluous to add that never in my life will I make any further attempt to be of service to Greece" (p. 170). Mrs. Schliemann by her tact and her knowledge of Greek sentiments was able to settle the dispute, but the Greeks seemed to have all the jealousy against Schliemann that their ancestors had for Aristides.

(7) The details of the bargaining for land in which to excavate in Crete are interestingly told, but Schliemann refused to be the victim of such outrageous greed; yet in the end he was ready to pay the price, until he found a false deed was being given him. He was engaged in rectifying this title to Cretan lands when he died. The selfishness and the boundless rapacity which he met on all sides would have made misanthropes out of most men.

(8) He was, what I never suspected from his writings, a bit of a Beau Brummell, and he would travel all the way from Athens to London for the sole purpose of spending two days trying on new clothing. He made sketches in advance of his requirements, and in a single year he bought as high as £13 worth of hats for his own use in London alone. At his death he left fifty-two pairs of perfectly good shoes or boots, about fifty suits of clothing, and other things in proportion (p. 227). Even when he was a young man, just starting in Russia, he ordered thirty-nine shirts especially made and laundered for his own use (p. 53).

A few anecdotes are worth telling: "He was so punctual that he always reached the station an hour before the train was due to leave" (p. 227). "When Agamemnon [Schliemann] was a few hours old . . . his father laid [a copy of] Homer on his head and read a hundred lines aloud to him." "When the baby was to be baptized and the guests were solemnly assembled in the church and the priest was ready to perform the ceremony, Schliemann drew out a thermometer and took the temperature

of the water. This threw the whole ceremony in utter confusion." (Pp. 233f). No man did so much to encourage Schliemann as Gladstone, and he it was who first gave him standing; hence Schliemann regarded him as his patron. When Gordon was shut up in Khartoum, Gladstone acted so slowly that relief came too late. "Schliemann was furious. As he never wrote on political matters, he had to relieve his feelings in some other way. Should he burn his patron's portrait? Gratitude withheld him from that. He found a middle course. He took the portrait, called his wife and children, and Gladstone, framed and glazed, was taken in solemn procession to the W. C. and hung up there." (P. 283).

This book is a most entertaining picture of a very famous man, but the author has no interest in Schliemann's great career as an excavator; his eccentricities are the important thing.

I cannot test its accuracy far, since I do not have the documents, but when he quotes the will, of which I do have a copy, he seems to get it wrong. He says that Minna Meincke became Frau Saundso and that Schliemann went to his boyhood home for a vacation and met her again shortly before his death; but in the will her name is Minna Richers. Ludwig says that he left a large sum of money to Rudolph Virchow, twice as much as to Dörpfeld; but in the will the money is left to the Berlin Society of Anthropology, the president of which was Rudolph Virchow. This is the only mention of Rudolph Virchow in the will.

Ludwig says (pp. 55-57) that Schliemann's brother died in Sacramento, Calif., May 25, 1850, and that Schliemann went to California to recover what was said to be a large estate, that Schliemann was much delayed and did not reach California until in April, 1851; Schliemann in his Autobiography (*op. cit.* 12) says that he was in California on July 4, 1850, that on that day, when California voted to become a State, citizenship was granted to all who desired it. Now we know that Congress ratified the admittance of California as a State in September, 1850; hence Schliemann must have been in California that year, and we know he became an American citizen, since he always traveled

as an American citizen and had his son declared an American citizen before an American consul. Ludwig must have these dates wrong.

There is one subject which illustrates so clearly his ruthless energy that it should not be omitted in discussing a life of Schliemann, especially a life which has knocked off his halo; and that is the methods he employed in obtaining his divorce in Indianapolis. Ludwig says (p. 110): "In Indianapolis . . . he engaged five lawyers. At that time, the spring of 1869, the divorce laws there were in process of revision. . . . He intervened personally and whipped up the most influential politicians." (The records of the trial show that one of these lawyers was Thomas A. Hendricks, then a U. S. Senator, later to become Vice-President of this country.)

With immense effort I have succeeded, as all the amendments to the new divorce law brought forward through my influence had already been rejected, in securing that constitutional procedure shall be observed in the case of these bills, and that they shall accordingly be read a third time . . . there was a dissension between the Republicans and the Democrats. . . . So no quorum was obtained and no further action could be taken. The old act, therefore, will remain in force until 1871, and I now hope to obtain my divorce here in the first half of June. [Quoted from his Diary by Ludwig, p. 110.]

This was so devious a course and so full of legalistic hypocrisy that I doubted the ability of a foreigner to influence legislation so soon after his arrival; but Mr. John C. Shaffer, owner of the *Indianapolis Star*, and his able editors³ have had the records of the State Legislature examined for me, and they find that in the spring of 1869 so many amendments to a reformed divorce law were introduced that all action was delayed for two years. Not only was there a flood of amendments, but two separate bills were introduced in each house; both of these bills were debated and defeated before a vote could be taken on the real reform bill. Lack of time then made all efforts to pass any new law impos-

³ My thanks are especially due to the following members of this staff: Mr. Lawrence, general manager, Mr. Stuart, editor, and Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb, special feature writer.

sible. Divorce seems to have been the chief theme of legislative discussion during the spring months of 1869 in Indiana — thanks to Schliemann and his five lawyers!

But the legal aspects of the divorce itself seem tainted with the introduction of false testimony and actual perjury. The facts are such that I hardly dare express them in my own words. Ludwig says (p. 111) that Schliemann wrote a letter while still in Europe and while getting ready to come to America in February, 1869; Schliemann himself in his Autobiography (*op. cit.* 18-20) says that he spent the spring, summer, and autumn of 1868 in Ithaca, Greece, and the Troad, evidently not leaving Troy until the beginning of winter, thus confirming Ludwig's statement that he was still in Europe in February, 1869. He filed his petition for divorce on April 3, 1869, and the bill of divorce contains these words: "The Court being fully advised in the premises finds that Henry Schliemann for more than one year previous to the filing of his petition herein has been a resident of the State of Indiana." The final decree was granted June 30, 1869. I can by no possible reckoning figure how he could have been in Indiana more than fifty days before April 3, 1869; yet he had shown the court that he had been a resident of that state for at least a year.

The subtitle,⁴ "The Story of a Gold-Seeker," does the very greatest injustice to a great and unselfish man. Schliemann at thirty-six retired from business because the mere making of money had no appeal to him, and he wrote "I cannot remain a merchant. . . . I must live for the scholarship I love so much" (p. 79). At that early age he abandoned the pursuit of riches and later went back to business only because he was obliged to rectify the dishonest acts of an associate. When this matter was honorably settled, he retired from commerce, never to return. He was only moderately wealthy, and four years after he had retired he

⁴ This subtitle was no afterthought but colors the whole book. The real text is Schliemann's alleged passion for money from the time he was a poor boy ("Gold and fame, a never satisfied striving after which was the mainspring of his life's work"; p. 16) until he died "poorly clad, with a wallet of gold on his breast," the last words in the book.

estimated his fortune at \$600,000 (p. 92), a sum surpassed by over 100,000 persons in this country in 1928. His success, starting with no capital, shows that he might have become very rich, had riches been his ideal; but he had other standards. Ludwig remarks that among all his thousands of letters not one contains a hint of unfair methods or of unsatisfactory goods (p. 67). This absolute rectitude in business has nothing of the *caveat emptor* in it and hardly fits into the picture of "The Gold-Seeker." It must be remembered that he supported almost all of his relatives and received help from none, that he paid all the bills for excavating Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenae, and that he was ready to submit to extravagant demands for sites in Crete, simply out of his joy in being able to extend the horizon of knowledge.

When he wrote to a friend in Athens and asked him to select a wife, he added as the first condition "She should be poor, but well educated; she must be enthusiastic about Homer" (p. 112). The father-in-law after the wedding demanded the equivalent of 150,000 francs in diamonds, which so outraged Schliemann's sense of honor that he called such "selling" of a daughter unworthy of a Christian (p. 126). Her brother made such demands on him for money that he wrote that he was "demanding a credit such as does not exist anywhere on earth, but only among the gods of Olympus" (p. 154). When he bought clothing for his wife he sent her "a further thirty metres of dress material, which she ostensibly required for herself, shutting his eyes to the fact that she used it to clothe half her family" (p. 129). In the face of these facts, for Mrs. Schliemann and her daughter to collaborate in the preparation of a book which bears the subtitle "The Story of a Gold-Seeker" seems to me the climax of comic irony; and if Ludwig put in that extra title without their knowledge, he is a man with no sense of humor. The things told in this book so degrade the name of Schliemann that it is impossible to believe that Mrs. Schliemann had full knowledge of its contents.

SAYCE AND SCHLIEMANN

By ROY C. FLICKINGER
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In 1922 I was president of the Chicago society of the Archaeological Institute of America and arranged a dinner at the Hotel La Salle on March 3 in honor of Schliemann's centennial. Very appropriately the chief speaker on this occasion was Professor John A. Scott of Northwestern University, the well-known authority on Homer, speaking on the subject "The Antiquities of Homer and Schliemann's Centenary." In the discussion which grew out of this address Mr. John C. Shaffer, owner of several newspapers in the Middle West, including the *Chicago Evening Post* and the *Indianapolis Star*, took a leading part. He claimed to have personal knowledge that Schliemann had been a resident of Indianapolis, a detail which had been challenged, and finally said that he would have his newspaper in Indianapolis investigate the situation as if it were a matter of public concern. The ultimate result was Professor Scott's article in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xvii (1922), 404-06, which contains several points that had not previously been known concerning Schliemann.

There were two items in this report, however, that puzzled us, and fortunately chance threw in my way the opportunity of clearing them up. Professor Scott's comments upon Ludwig's *Schliemann* now afford a convenient chance of presenting these points to a larger public.

In January, 1924, Mrs. Flickinger and I were at Assouan in Egypt. In the dining room at the hotel I overheard a waiter addressing a distinguished gentleman at another table as Mr. Sayce. His looks and appearance were consistent with the theory that he might be Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford, the famous

Egyptologist. Accordingly I introduced myself to him a little later in the lobby and found that my surmise was correct.

I spoke to him of Scott's article, with which it developed that he was already acquainted. Now in the original will Schliemann had bequeathed Sayce "ten thousand francs in gold," but in a codicil dated ten days later this provision was annulled. Scott had commented (p. 406): "No doubt something had been heard or read in those ten days which caused that codicil." Accordingly I asked Professor Sayce if it would be embarrassing to him for me to inquire whether he had any light upon this change in the will. He replied that it would not be and that the matter was very simple. In the interim between the will and the codicil Schliemann had informed Sayce of the proposed bequest, and Sayce himself had insisted that it be withdrawn, saying that he already felt amply repaid for anything he had ever been able to do for Schliemann and wanted nothing further. His request was evidently expressed strongly enough so that Schliemann acted upon it immediately.

In the second place, it had always seemed strange that, although Schliemann spoke about himself so fully and freely in the Autobiography included in *Ilios*, he said nothing there about Indianapolis, his Russian wife, or his divorce, contenting himself with the words (p. 20): "Circumstances obliged me to remain nearly the whole of the year 1869 in the United States, and it was therefore only in April, 1870, that I was able to return to Hissarlik." Accordingly it had been easy to surmise that Schliemann had deliberately suppressed this episode in his career.

But Sayce said that there was nothing to this supposition, either. The original MS of the Autobiography in *Ilios* contained, it seems, as full an account of this as of other matters. But the publishers, who already felt that they were assuming a large onus of responsibility in publishing a volume whose contents were so conspicuously heretical as Schliemann's views were then held to be, balked at having needlessly thrown upon them and their new publication the additional burden of so public an announcement that it had been written by a divorced man, divorce being then a

relatively rare and unpopular occurrence in England. Accordingly they induced Sayce, who was seeing the book through the press in Schliemann's absence, to delete this portion of the Autobiography.

The translation of Ludwig's work will now bring to the attention of the English-speaking world some of the less laudable aspects of Schliemann's life. It has therefore seemed appropriate to remove two possible sources of criticism in his conduct.

ROMAN BEAUTY CULTURE¹

By ORTHA L. WILNER
University of Chicago

A broad definition of my subject would include such matters as dress, jewels, styles of coiffure, even tricks of lighting and posture; for surely a dress of cloth of gold or of silk so sheer as to display the beauties it covers is an aid to beauty; and Ovid in advising girls how to get lovers bids those who are too short for the prevailing ideal to sit or recline with a coverlet thrown over their feet in order to conceal their brief stature. But since to include these and similar matters would carry me too far, I restrict myself to artificial beautifying of the body, face, and hair. It is not always easy to draw the line between legitimate care of the person and artificial beauty culture. To what extent is the depilation of the face or body a matter of cleanliness, convenience, and style rather than one of the excesses of the *bellus homo*? And in the care of the complexion where does the work of the beauty doctor cease, and that of the physician commence? I have no doubt, therefore, that I have included or excluded much of which another would judge differently.

First, and briefly, the general considerations: the type preferred for the young woman was the tall, stately build which Catullus (*Carm.* LXXXVI) admits Quintia possesses and which the lover in Terence's *Eunuchus* (vss. 313-16) contrasts favorably with "our girls, whom their mothers want slope-shouldered, with bound breasts, to make them slender. If one is a little too well-conditioned, they call her a prize-fighter and reduce her rations." The dieting and binding of the breasts are still familiar beauty

¹ Most of the references to the subject of this paper in classical writers are collected in Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*: Munich, Beck (1911), IV, 2, II, 267-77 and 435-39.

prescriptions; and references to the *fascia*, *mamillare*, or *strophium* in Catullus, Ovid, Martial, Apuleius, and Hieronymus indicate the early and long-continued use of the breast band. A tight band restrained lines that were too full, and a folded band simulated fullness on too flat a figure. Full, thick clothing concealed unfashionable slenderness. Even the preferred slope of the shoulders could be secured by the use of little shoulder pads.

The body as well as the face must be free of unsightly hairs and wrinkles. A wrinkle-remover was *lomentum*, the chief ingredient of which was bean meal. The removal of hairs affected not only the face (and there are special references to beard, lips, cheeks, and nostrils), but also the legs, arms, arm-pits, and even other parts of the body. The means employed were plucking with pincers, clipping, shaving with a bronze razor, rubbing with pumice, and applying unguent (*psilothrum*), or pitch (*dropax*). Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* xxxii, 135f; xxiv, 58 and 79; xxxvi, 154; and vii, 211) describes the composition of several *psilothra*, the ingredients including the blood, gall, and liver of several sea fish, of leeches, and of a kind of frog, either fresh or mixed with oil or vinegar; another, made from the drops exuding from ivy, cured phthiriasis (lice) as well, and must have been very useful! But in connection with the fish-blood *psilothra* he adds an illuminating sentence: "In using every kind of *psilothrum*, the hairs must first be plucked out"; evidently the preparations were not as efficacious as might be wished. The best pumices for the purpose were white, light, dry, spongy, easily crushed, but not sandy. Shaving, we are told, was first brought to Italy in 300 B.C., and Scipio Africanus the Younger was the first Roman to shave regularly. Young fops might adopt bizarre styles in shaving and might smooth their legs with pumice; but all well-groomed girls were expected to have smooth legs; and everyone as a matter of mere cleanliness had the hair plucked from the arm-pits.

Facial beauty required a full row of white teeth, two good eyes, long dark lashes, brows that were dark, well-shaped, and just meeting between the eyes, and of course an unblemished

complexion of soft texture and good color. The teeth are often referred to as marring or improving beauty. Dentifrices are numerous and sometimes amazing: chiefly pumice, or as an alternative the ashes of various animal substances such as stag's horn, wolf's head, ankle bone of the ox, goat, and all farm animals (often with myrrh added), dog's teeth steeped in wine with honey, mice with honey, and fennel roots (Pliny xxviii, 178 and 182; xxx, 22 and 27; and xxxvi, 156). Lost teeth could be replaced by new ones of bone or ivory, fastened in place with gold wires; and the laws of the XII Tables directed that these gold wires be buried or burned with the man. Martial, however, satirized those who wore such false teeth. Eyes could not as easily be bought, as an epigram tells us (Lucilius, *Anthologia Palatina* xi, 310):

Hair you bought and teeth and rouge and wax to make you pale;
You would have bought an eye as well — there wasn't one for sale.

If the brows failed to meet, they could be painted in; and paint was used to make the eyes appear large. The material is either parched antimony, called *stibium* or, from its resemblance to soot, *favilla* or *fuligo*; or else saffron, especially from Cilicia; and Xenophon mentions a skin-colored paint for the eyes.

To clear the complexion of blemishes and improve its color and texture, a number of substances are recommended, to be used sometimes in a simple mixture, sometimes in complex preparations suited for a variety of circumstances (Ovid, *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*, vss. 51-98; Pliny xii, 107). A favorite base is honey, Attic preferred, in which the various items are blended and rendered easy to apply. Barley pap serves the same purpose; both help to soften the skin. Into one or the other or both are mixed in divers combinations frankincense (to remove excrescences), niter, myrrh, salt of Ammon (a gumlike substance from the vicinity of the shrine of Ammon in north Africa, that exudes from a resinous tree and is gathered in lumps from the sand where it has dropped), white lead, pulverized stag's horns, dried rose leaves, narcissus bulbs, fennel, vetch, spelt, lupines, beans (to

tighten the skin and remove wrinkles), eggs, and *halcyoneum*, a stuff found in the sea, consisting "as some men think, of the thickening filth of sea-foam or, according to others, of some slime or woolly substance of the sea" (Pliny xxxii, 86). Each ingredient has its own purpose — to heal blemishes, remove wrinkles, soften the skin, increase its clarity, stimulate color, add fragrance, etc.

Unguents, oils, and salves were constant accessories of the bath and toilet generally; but a group of animal fats should have specific mention among the cosmetics (Pliny xxviii, 184-88): butter (to cure rheum), fat of the goose, hen, or swan (to remove blemishes), and the famous *oesypum*, a salve frequently named in both Greek and Latin writers. It was a sort of lanolin salve, made of the grease from sheep's wool, a softening, cleansing salve. Even the best had a strong, disagreeable odor; it gave Ovid nausea. As Pliny (xxix, 35f; xxx, 28) describes the manufacture, the juices and grease from fresh-clipped sheep's wool are heated and then cooled in water, and the waxy fat that rises to the surface is collected, heated again, washed in cold water, and exposed to the sun until white and translucent; it has a disagreeable smell, does not dissolve in water, but turns white like wax. The same purposes are served by the marrow of stags, calves, or goats, and other animal substances, including dead bees in honey, ashes of snails in honey, Herculanean ants and salt, and the stuff named *crocodilea*, from a "small land crocodile which feeds only on the most fragrant flowers and which is stuffed therefore with a pleasant fragrance" (Pliny xxviii, 108, 145, and 184; xxx, Ch. 10).

Poppaea, wife of the Emperor Nero, is said to have originated another facial treatment (Pliny xxviii, 183). A poultice of a stuff like bread dough soaked with asses' milk was spread over the face at night and washed off with the milk in the morning, followed by a facial massage for which also the milk was used. The luxurious used asses' milk even in tub baths to enhance the softness and whiteness of the skin of the whole body. Poppaea took a herd of asses with her for this purpose whenever she traveled. Juvenal, satirizing the society belle encased in this

unsightly and evil-smelling bandage, asks (*Satires* vi, 471-73): "Is this thing which she cares for so gently really a face or an ulcer?"

Methods today are not as different as one might suppose; but the beauty parlor has supplanted the troupe of personal slaves who attended the Roman lady in her own home with a skill and dexterity born of their fear of the lash, and beauty preparations today savor less of the barnyard under their trade-marked nomenclature.

A succession of beauty doctors wrote directions for the care and coloring of the skin and hair, in numerous volumes. Galen at the end of the second century A.D. refers inquiries to a certain Crito who, he says, summarizes the content of other writers on the subject in a four-volume work, *qui in omnium manibus versantur*.² Among the beauty doctors should not be forgotten the poet Ovid, from whose pen is extant a fragment of about a hundred verses, the *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*, giving detailed recipes for complicated facial treatments; it is instructive to quote one of these (vss. 69-82):

Fail not lupines pale to treasure,
Parch them and the swelling bean,
Take six pounds of each — due measure;
Crush them with the black mill's pressure.
Spume of niter's ruddy sheen,
White lead, and Illyric iris,
One ounce each what you require is,
When strong youths have rubbed it fine.
Alcyonea, stuff they make from
Nests of sad sea birds, will take from
Faces spots o'er which you pine;
Just a half an ounce is needed.
Then when all my words you've heeded,
Mix all smooth in honey clear,
Ready on your face to smear.

Special treatments for freckles were very numerous, including the intestines of that small land crocodile mentioned above, willow

² Vol. XII, p. 446, cited according to Gottlob Kuehn's *Medicorum Opera*, Leipzig (1826).

seed with saltpeter and sour wine, and a preparation of lupines. There is something sinister in the explanation in Pliny xxix, 73, that wine in which have been dead newts will cause freckles to appear on those who drink — an insidious weapon by which Roman ladies might have taken vengeance on their fair rivals!

The widespread use of rouge is well attested, a practice made necessary by lack of sufficient fresh air and exercise. Xenophon (*Oeconomicus* x, 2, 5-7) relates how the young man Ischomachus argued his wife, whom he married at the age of thirteen, into foregoing the use of cosmetics, as a disagreeable and meretricious adornment, and taught her to keep her complexion clear and rosy by means of such exercises as overseeing the household's activities, weaving, kneading dough, making beds, and shaking coverlets. His advice was none too generally followed. The excesses to which a fashionable beauty might carry her use of cosmetics is satirized in an epigram of Martial's (ix, 37, 4f):

The face you show the world is laid at night
Not in your bed but in your hundred rouge-pots.

Numerous examples of these rouge-pots (*pyrides*), made of wood, horn, alabaster, or metal, are in the museums. Even the goddess Venus in the story of Cupid and Psyche sends the unhappy girl to Hades to borrow a box of "charm" from Proserpina, because in the anxiety of nursing her son she has used up all she had.

Red rouge was supplied by a number of substances, mostly vegetable dyes, including *fucus*, ἄγκουσα or alkanet, *purpurissum*; and at the close of the fragmentary *Medicamina* Ovid begins to describe what is apparently a dye made of crushed poppy leaves. *Fucus*, the product of the root of a plant, was so usual among the Romans as to become the generic name for rouge. *Minium* (red lead) and *nitrum* (mineral alkali) also had a prominent place as rouge on the dressing table. The cosmetics were applied with the finger or, as in a reproduction in Tischbein,³ with a small brush.

The skin was whitened by the use of *creta*, viz. Cretan earth or

³ W. Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases of Greek Workmanship*: Naples (1795), II, Pl. 58.

chalk, *melinum*, a white paint, and *cerussa*, or white lead, called in Greek *psimuthion* (Pliny xxxv, 194f, 198, and 37; xxxiv, 175f). The *creta* is described by Pliny, with an account of its use in cleaning garments; and at the same time he names the similar Samian, Chian, and Selinusian earths, used *ad mulierum maxime cutem* and also as a whitewash to renovate walls. Worn in dry form, it was subject to the exigencies of perspiration or of wet weather. So far as I can discover, however, it was intended only to whiten the face and not, like most powder today, to prevent shininess. The best *melinum* came from the island of Melos; it was much used by painters. *Cerussa* came from the plumbers' shops, manufactured from fine shavings of lead distilled over strong acid. Its employment was comparable to the practice of enameling faces which prevailed fifty years ago. Says Martial (I, 72, 5f):

Blackberry hued Lycoris feels delight,
Knowing cerussa makes her dark face white.

Sometimes even the veins of the temples were painted blue, if, as editors are generally agreed, it is really for such a practice that Propertius reproaches his sweetheart.

When the face was finally ready to be presented to the world, beauty plasters might be added. These *splenia* were worn by both men and women on occasion. They could be made of soft leather (*aluta*) and probably of other materials which have not happened to be mentioned in extant writings. The star and crescent shapes are suggested in two references, and doubtless any decorative shape that suited the individual's fancy would be chosen. They were sometimes white; and the mention of one as white may imply that colors and black also were used, but there is no proof. They were employed, of course, to set off one's fair complexion and also to conceal defects, whether blemishes resulting from excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table and from other causes or the marks of the branding iron on the forehead of a rich and socially ambitious freedman; to serve such a purpose they must have had some size!

Every reader of Greek or Latin literature is acquainted with the fact that the dyeing of hair was a prevalent habit among men and women alike of certain classes. Of its extent, characteristic statements are such as that of K. F. Smith on Tibullus I, 8, 44: "In the time of Tibullus blonde hair was much in vogue especially among women like Pholoe"; or that of Hugo Blümner in Müller's *Handbuch* IV, 2, II, 276:

No less numerous and varied were the means for dyeing hair; it was colored dark brown, or black, or blonde; for the preference for hair of this color, which is rare among the southerners, appeared among the women even at the time of Cato the Elder, when there is reference not only to the dyeing of gray hair but also to the bleaching of dark hair.

Among the infrequent references to the dyeing of hair among the Greeks are found the color words *ἐρυθθαίνειν* (red), *ξανθοβένεος* (yellow-brown), *πυρρός* (yellow-red), and *μέλας* (dark or black). The more numerous references among the Romans include the same colors: *rutilus*, *rufus* (red), *flavus*, *aureus* (golden yellow), *corvus*, *ater*, *niger*, *denigro* (dark or black).

The means and process of application vary with the nature of the dye. Most of our knowledge of these matters comes from the writings of Galen, the physician of the second century A.D. (Book XIV, Ch. iv, § 2); Marcellus Empiricus, the physician of the fourth century A.D. (Book VII); and Pliny the Elder, the student of all sciences in the first century A.D., scattered through his *Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII*.⁴ The hair may be washed with a solution of some dye substance in water, asses' milk, oil, acid, vinegar, or sour wine. Or an ointment is made of the consistency of wax and applied before sleeping. Or a paint is made with the direction that it is to be applied to the shaved head of the bald with a paint brush. One of Galen's recipes demands a sponge to apply the dye; another, as might be anticipated, a comb. Several prescriptions direct that the preparation is to be used in the shade or, conversely, in the sunshine. Of the nontechnical writers Lucian postulates sunshine as a necessary ingredient; and Tertullian

⁴ XVI, 180; XXII, 153; XXIII, 67, 135, 160, and 164; XXIV, 10, 15, 42, 52, 94, 110, and 122; XXVII, 52; XXVIII, 191; XXIX, 109; XXXII, 67f; and XXXV, 194.

assumes its presence normally in his warning against the use of hair dye. Marcellus directs that after the use of one of his concoctions the head be bound in cloth until dry; that after the use of another, four days be allowed to pass before the head be washed. Repeatedly is added the warning that the face must be greased to prevent its being stained by some stray dripping of the dye, and the mouth must be kept full of oil until the dye is dry, lest the strength of the dye turn the teeth black. And all this is taking no account of superstitious regulations, such as that one must perform the operation of dyeing when one is *purus* (ceremonially clean) and assisted by *ministris puris*, or that the stuff is to be set in a dish in the sunshine and shaken daily for forty days *per puerum virgineum* and touched by no one else.

The coloring media range through a long list of vegetable, animal, and mineral substances. Of the last are lead, iron, alum, and *ampelitis terra*, a bituminous earth used in viniculture. The effect on the hair must have been harmful in the extreme. The animal substances are sometimes nauseating; among the less objectionable are included yolks of ravens' eggs, ashes of earthworms in oil, and leeches decomposed in sour wine. One version of the last-named prescription directs that the decomposition take place in a lead vessel, lead being a well-known ingredient for darkening the hair; and to this prescription is added that frequent warning to guard the face and teeth with oil. Most numerous are the vegetable substances, of the efficacy of some of which one has grave doubts. Both Galen and Pliny advocate burnt wine lees in oil to dye hair golden-red; less promising seems the "one cabbage root" of Marcellus (*De Medicamentis* VII, 6). A whole series of leaves, herbs, vegetables — to be treated with wine, oil, or water, to make a dye — includes cypress leaves, bitter vetch, root of caper in asses' milk, the prickles that grow on nuts in oil with bitumen, bitter lupines either cooked or raw, gall nut, juice of myrtle or wild myrtle, acacia, mastich, madder, mulberry leaves, mulberries, blackberries, and elderberry wine. Certain vegetable substances, when burned, yield ashes which are recommended, among them flower of white mullein and wormwood. Beside the more or less

simple directions are to be found some of a complicated nature that seem to provide simultaneously for various exigencies. Marcellus unites fenugreek, flax seed, sweet calamus, aromatic rushes, casia, alum, laudanum, and tanner's dew (*ros coriarium*) in river water; this is that prescription which is to be stirred *per puerum virgineum*, as noted above. Galen prescribes a combination of madder, French lavender, golden-hair, wormwood, lupines, and water — left for nine days in a glass dish and shaken twice a day, then applied with a sponge, the hair to be thoroughly soaked with it, allowed to become entirely dry, then washed with warm water and *sapo* (soap). The *sapo*, mentioned here as a cleansing agent, was so freely used in the process of dyeing hair that the name was picked up by the satirist Martial as a generic term for dye. This forerunner of the modern dye-soap was a Gallic and German product, made of fat and ashes (preferably beech and hornbeam), sold in dry or in liquid form, specifically described as for the purpose of dyeing hair red and as used more by the men than by the women among the Germans. Another very important dye substance is nuts (walnuts and acorns in equal amounts), gathered while still very green or when first formed, and pressed for their juice, which is applied with a comb.

A commentary on the effectiveness of the dyes is the picture of the nouveau riche *Cinaedus* of Petronius, who has indulged in acacia dye, which when he is warm dribbles down his forehead in sweaty streams.

Instead of dyeing one's hair one might purchase a wig. The satirists give abundant proof of the prevalence of such use. Men (or women) who have grown bald cover their heads with wigs; women whose hair is thin and scraggly piece it out with "switches" and "side pieces"; women whose hair is not of the fashionable blonde shade cover it with a wig; wives who wish to escape detection on some private expedition disguise themselves with wigs. They were sold in open market near the temple of Hercules, and the women went openly to make their purchases. Much of the false hair came from the Germans or Britons, because their reddish blonde coloring was favored.

How ancient and how widespread was the use of rouge and hair dye? Beauty culture is one of the oldest of the arts, traceable to the mythical generations of the world's childhood, when Prometheus stole fire from heaven for man's use and comfort and Pandora caused all human woe by opening her famous box of troubles; at any rate the mythographer Palaephatus (xxxiv and xliii) claims that Pandora was a wealthy woman of Greece who, when she was going out, adorned herself and rubbed much earth (doubtless white chalk) on her skin. And he reports, too, that the art of dyeing hair (along with the steam bath) was the invention of Medea and was in fact the secret of that famous magician's power of rejuvenating the old. Through the centuries the use of rouge and hair dye is vouched for by references, many of them incidental, in a long succession of writers: Aristophanes, Xenophon, Philemon, Plautus, Cato the Elder, Cicero, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Pliny the Elder, Petronius, Martial, Juvenal, Seneca, Lucian, Galen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Marcellus, Hieronymus. These names take us from the fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. in the Graeco-Roman world and include comedians, satirists, poets, historians, scholars, scientists, physicians, and Christian Fathers.

Plautus has a pretty dressing-room scene in which the superannuated courtesan Scapha instructs her young mistress Philematium in the proper use of cosmetics (*Mostellaria*, vss. 258-64, 274-78):

PHIL. Give me the white lead.

SC. What do you want it for?

PHIL. To whiten my cheeks.

SC. You want to whiten ivory with lamp-black!

PHIL. Then give me the rouge.

SC. I won't. You're pretty enough. Do you want to patch up a very pretty piece of work with more painting? Your age ought never to touch paint, white lead, or white paint, or any other such stuff. . . . Now those old hags who smear themselves with ointment, ancient, toothless, refurbished creatures, who try to hide their blemishes with paint, smell, when their perspiration mixes with their ointments, like a lot of different kinds of broth which a cook has poured together. You don't know what it smells of except that it smells bad.

These women are Greek and déclassé; but so eminent authorities as Cato (quoted by Servius) and Festus and Valerius Maximus (II, 1, 5) assure us that Roman matrons of good family and excellent morals were not of *tristi et horrida pudicitia*, but with the consent of their husbands, in order to make their beauty more attractive, at the cost of much pains dyed their hair red with ashes. In the time of Augustus the practice of the cosmetic art was so common that Ovid wrote his *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* on the subject and included similar precepts in his *Ars Amatoria*, a book written ostensibly for women déclassé, but notoriously intended for those of the highest social classes; says he (*Ars Amat.* III, 200) :

Sanguine quae vero non rubet, arte rubet.

Tibullus addresses a young man of the type of the *puer delicatus*; Juvenal satirizes the habits of both men and women, of respectable social classes, the men in the second *Satire*, where their degeneracy is pictured as they mimic the women's festival of the Bona Dea, wear women's clothes, and use feminine cosmetics. By the close of the second century Galen (Vol. XII, p. 446) exclaims that the books of the beauty doctors are in everyone's hands, protests that this is not a function of medicine; but because it is desired even by ladies of the royal circle he has included what pertains to the dyeing of hair. Yet while the practice of the art was common it must not be thought universal. Probably the courtesan class and the fast social set which aped it were the principal users. Certainly Seneca, in the midst of one of the most degenerate periods, makes it a mark of honor that Helvia did not use rouge.

I can close a discussion of beauty culture in no better way than by quoting Ovid's warning that the art that pleases is the art that is concealed (*Ars Amatoria* III, 209-26) :

*Non tamen expositas mensa deprندات amator
pyxidas: ars faciem dissimulata iuvat.*

Of the beautifying media he says :

Ista dabunt formam, sed erunt deformia visu;

and adds:

*Tu quoque dum coleris, nos te dormire putemus:
aptius a summa conspiciere manu.*

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

DID VERGIL SHRINK FROM THE HORRIBLE?

In the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVI (1930), 105 Professor Charles Knapp in reference to *Aeneid* x, 517-20, which tells of Aeneas' sacrificing human foes to the dead Pallas, remarks: "Wild indeed must have been the grief that mastered this soul (Aeneas'), normally so calm and so collected, at least to all outward seeming, and made its first reaction a reversion to a savage custom (a custom, we may be sure, repulsive to Vergil's sensitive soul)." Knapp is seeking to show that Aeneas is a "red-blooded" man and not a puppet. He has treated the same topic in the *Classical Weekly* XXI (1928), 90-92, and this particular passage on pp. 91f therein. Were such horrors repulsive to Vergil's sensitive soul? Vergil was certainly "majestic in his sadness" and was most tender of soul, but he was merciless to enemies of Rome. I cite one passage in point. He is describing the shield of Aeneas in Book VIII. Here he could choose his own subjects from Roman history with which to adorn that shield, and one of them is this (vss. 642-45):

*Haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae
distulerant — at tu dictis, Albane, maneres! —
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres.*

I need not render in English this terrible passage. Vergil did not need to use this incident from Roman history as a scene on Aeneas' shield for any reason that I can think of. Livy I, 28, 8-11 tells it and remarks:

Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectacula oculos. Primum ulti-

numque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

"All turned away from so foul a sight and would not look at it. This was the first and last instance among the Romans of a punishment that violated the laws of humanity; in other instances they can boast that no people was content with milder penalties." If Vergil shrank from the horrible, why did he put this scene in such gruesome detail on the shield of Aeneas? It cannot, I think, be urged that necessity required it of him, as is often said in reference to the frightfulness of many of his war scenes. If he wanted to preach a sermon on keeping one's word he had other stories ready to hand, like that of Régulus, for instance. Such a passage as this makes one feel a cruelty that I have generally not felt in those great words of Anchises to Aeneas (*Aeneid* VI, 851-53):

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.*

Mettus had been *superbus*, had failed to keep his word given to a Roman, and Vergil glorifies Tullus Hostilius for his savage cruelty that Livy says the early Romans did not even look upon and that he sought to excuse as at least unique in Roman history!

Even in that famous, soothing speech of Aeneas to the Latin ambassadors who came to seek a truce for the burial of the dead, I am forced to see an evidence of Roman cruelty toward a defiant foe.

*Pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis
oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem* [*Aeneid* XI, 110f].

"Peace you ask of me for the dead and victims of conflict? Even to the living too I should have liked to grant it."

There is sympathy here for the Latins. "I do not wage war with the people" (XI, 113), he says, in words that remind us of President Wilson in the late war. But they have joined Latinus with Turnus against Aeneas! He would gladly face Turnus and

leave the decision to that conflict! He would turn all hatred against one man, Turnus, who dared to defy him and his mighty destiny! Turnus is a *superbus hostis* and must be utterly subdued.

There is an eloquent interpretation of this passage by Mackail that suits my mood, one that I used to share and should like to share again. It is in his *Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today*: Boston, Marshall Jones Company (1922), 104f.

Professor Knapp is shocked by *Aeneid* x, 517-20, wherein we are told that Aeneas selected eight youths to be sacrificed to the spirit of Pallas. He speaks of "a reversion to a savage custom" (the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxvi [1930], 105) and "savage customs long since outworn" (*Classical Weekly* xxi [1928], 92). This certainly seems odd on the part of Professor Knapp. What savage custom long since outworn? Does Vergil consistently represent Aeneas as a man of Vergil's time or of the epic age? Does he consistently represent him as of either time? Dramatically, artistically, Aeneas is Aeneas of Troy living the kind of life he may have lived after the fall of his city. Thus understood, such a sacrifice does not appear to be a reversion to savagery. It may be savagery but not a reversion. Achilles (*Iliad* xxi, 26-28) sacrificed twelve youths to the dead Patroclus. It can hardly be supposed either that the Trojans differed radically in a matter like this from the Achaeans or that Aeneas had grown from barbarism to civilization since he left Troy. The facts seem to be simply these: Aeneas is quite cruel enough to do so dreadful an act; Vergil is not pained to have him do it and has him do it because Achilles had done a like thing.

That Aeneas was quite capable of sacrificing human beings to the *manes* of his friends is further shown by *Aeneid* ii, 567-87. And this passage also shows that Vergil was not deterred from having Aeneas slay Helen because of his dread of the horror of it. (I take it that this passage is no longer under serious suspicion.) The words

*Animumque explesse iuvabit
ultriciis flammae, et cineres satiassae meorum* [vss. 586f].

show Aeneas as almost ready to offer Helen to the spirits of his

dead friends. He is prevented from doing so either (1) because he cannot, or (2) because he remembers his own family (vs. 595), or (3) by the miracle of his mother's appearance and warning. She, however, probably only symbolized his position and reflections. Somehow he is made to realize that not Helen nor Paris but *divum inclementia* (II, 602) is to blame for this disaster that is upon them, and that other, more worthy and pressing duties call him. An author who could thus have his hero seriously contemplate so terrible an act as to sacrifice Helen to the *manes* of his friends cannot well be said to shrink from the horrible.

How difficult, how delicate, how almost impossible a task it is to read as an author writes! Can we avoid reading our own thoughts, ideas, etc., into an author who seems in many ways so near us as Vergil?

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PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF J. P. MAHAFFY ¹

Some random reminiscences of Sir John Pentland Mahaffy, given at a meeting of the Chicago Classical Club, might, I am told, be of interest to readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL. Professor Mahaffy was known to me as a sportsman long before I met him as a teacher. He used to stay at my father's house frequently in the shooting season, as both belonged to the same county of Monaghan. He was not a handsome man, rather the reverse; and he spoke with a lisp. He could not pronounce the letter *r*. We were often told of how he once shot a farmer in the

¹ Among Mahaffy's more important works are the following: *Problems in Greek History*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1892); *A History of Classical Greek Literature*, 2 vols.: New York, Macmillan Co. (1895); *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*: London, Macmillan Co. (1898); *Silver Age of the Greek World*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1906); and *Rambles and Studies in Greece*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1913).

face and then called out to his companion: "Disgwaceful, these pellets have hardly penetwated the skin; I'll never buy shells fwom X again." The farmer felt that he was in the wrong for not allowing the pellets to go through his cheek and retired in shame and surprise. Like Marshal Foch, Mahaffy evidently realized that the best defense is to take the offensive.

The first Greek we ever learned was his remark that the word "idiot" is the Greek for a person who takes no part in political life; and to prove that he was not an idiot, he was both High Sheriff of County Monaghan and also a magistrate at Howth (near Dublin), where he owned a house.

He took a harmless pleasure in referring to the royalties and titled people whom he knew. Such persons as "My fwend the King of Gweece" would be brought into the conversation at appropriate moments. It is said that he once met Father Healy of Bray in a Dublin street and said to him: "Would you believe it, Healy, I was dining at the Castle last night and they had no fish." "I suppose," said Healy, "they had eaten it all upstairs." Professor Merrill once told me that he retailed this story to a group of professors at the University of Chicago, and none of them saw the point; however, the Classical Club did. Mahaffy was too big a man to bear malice for remarks like this; and when Father Healy died, he paid a most touching tribute to his memory. Stupidity was the only thing he found it hard to forgive. "Stupidity is a cwime" was one of his favorite sayings. Provost Salmon of Dublin was another man who sometimes made fun of his idiosyncrasies. Once, when discussing the value of corporal punishment, Dr. Mahaffy remarked that he had been flogged only once and that time it had been for telling the truth. "Well," said Dr. Salmon, "it seems to have cured you."

When I sat before him to be examined orally on Plato's *Gorgias*, he smoothed the situation by putting as his first question: "How is the duck shooting in your part of the countwy this year?" He did not lecture much during my time at Trinity, Dublin; but I attended a course of his on ancient banking illustrated with papyri that he had brought from Egypt. Many of his theories may not

have stood the test of criticism and later research, but he certainly had the true scholar's gift of being able to make the past live again; and he was careless of either time or trouble if he could help or encourage anyone to further study of the period which interested him most, the Hellenistic Age.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Iowa City. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editors-in-chief reserve the right of appointing reviewers.]

HENRY C. PEARSON AND LILLIE M. LAWRENCE, *Latin II*: New York, American Book Company (1930). Pp. xviii+636. \$1.72.

The Classical Investigation seems to have stimulated the re-writing of texts for almost the entire high-school Latin field. This is another volume based upon its findings as to content and method, designed for the second year "to follow *Latin I*, the first book of the series, with no break in continuity" (p. v).

Opening the book, one finds four preliminary pages given over to suggestions to teachers and to a list of twenty-six books for reference and supplementary reading. The suggestions are brief and pointed to the best use of the text, while the bibliography is well selected, with special emphasis upon stories relating to Caesar and his times.

Three main divisions comprise the material for the year. Part I contains "made" Latin of graduated difficulty, and forms and syntax essential for the reading of Caesar are developed; Part II presents Caesar's Wars; Part III gives exercises in Latin prose composition based upon Caesar, Books I-III. A complete Appendix includes forms and inflections, syntax, word formation, and vocabulary lists for both first and second years. Satisfactory Latin-English, English-Latin vocabularies and an Index conclude the book.

A special attempt has been made in Part I to give the pupil connected stories of cultural value. The twenty-two lessons present Legends of the Trojan Cycle (I-X), and the Wanderings of Ulysses (XII-XXI); XI and XXII are review assignments.

Either one-third or one-half of the year may be spent upon this division, which gives approximately 770 lines of Latin reading coupled with the presentation of new forms and syntax, word derivative study, vocabulary, and writing in Latin. Each lesson follows the general plan of preparation (of new forms and syntax), required vocabulary, connected reading for translation, notes, relation of Latin words to English, and exercises including drill on forms as well as translating Latin into English.

"The book aims to present the story of the Gallic Wars *as a whole*" (p. v). The authors attempt to accomplish this purpose in Part II by inserting summaries and translations of portions of the text not given in Latin for the pupil's mastery. Latin passages to the extent of about 1,900 lines have been selected with appropriate titles from all books except VI, which is summarized in English. In addition, 434 lines of Selections for Reading at Sight are included from the *Gallic War* III, V, and VI, and from the *Civil War* III. An introduction to Part II discusses comprehensively Caesar's life, times, generalship, and military organization, with special short paragraphs on the scene of the Gallic wars, results of the conquest to the Roman state, and Gaul as the principal theater of the World War.

Written Latin occupies a prominent place in this text, with twenty lesson exercises devoted to Latin prose composition in Part III. Each exercise numbers both the chapters in Caesar which are the basis for its twenty sentences and the references in the book for the grammatical and syntactical principles set for mastery in it. This division is designed by the authors for constant use with Part II, as Part I includes ample English-Latin exercises.

All necessary formal, inflectional, and syntactical material is listed and summarized in the Appendix, which also includes an excellent section on Latin word formation and English derivatives with use of prefixes and suffixes. A review of the Required Vocabulary for the first year (520 words) and for the second year (618 words) is found at the end of this section. These two lists contain all the words specified by the College Entrance Ex-

amination Board and the New York State Syllabus. A comprehensive Index adds to the effectiveness of the text.

Features worthy of particular notice should be mentioned. The book contains provision for the varying abilities of pupils and offers to the teacher an amount of material for selection and variation with different classes without loss of the content of the story. The sight selections give reading which requires little or no reference to the general vocabulary, as words which have not previously occurred are given in the notes. The notes follow immediately all the reading sections to which they refer, and frequently they give explanations of persons, places, and things which amount to quite a bit of supplementary reading in English. In Part I the summaries of the syntax of the various cases are especially good. The division of the Caesar reading material into sixteen campaigns or episodes, with summaries or translations of omitted chapters, gives a solid working basis for both mastery and the stimulation of interest.

The text as a whole shows a reasonable course of study for the second year, with wise emphasis upon the fundamentals, yet with complete material throughout for concurrent work on the ultimate objectives in the study of Latin. Its methods of presentation are usually logical, but there seems no good reason for simplification or omission of Caesar's classical Latin after the campaigns in Book I have been read. Examples of such changes can be found in Book II, 2 (p. 259, lines 9f); III, 7 (p. 300, line 2); IV, 20 (p. 325, line 1 and 326, line 1).

J. MINOR GWYNN

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

OTTO J. KUHNMUENCH, *Early Christian Latin Poets*: Chicago, Loyola University Press (1929). Pp. xiv+472. \$2.40.

If anyone has the notion that all the literature of the last centuries of the Western Empire is an uninteresting and soulless mass of writings done in degenerate Latin and recording the decline of a decadent civilization, such a one would revise his

opinion after perusing this book. Here he will find selections from a literature throbbing with life and reflecting the most momentous spiritual movement that has ever permeated human society; and which compares favorably in form and language with much that has been preserved from the Augustan Age. Whatever may be true of the pagan literature of the late classical period or of the more or less obscure prose style of the early Christian apologists, early Christian poetry, which was relatively late in its development, is full of imagery and vital earnestness. Many of these poems — now almost forgotten — were much read and used in the schools for a thousand years. Their influence on the mediaeval mind and early literary forms was incalculable, until the Renaissance and the rise of humanism sent scholars back to the classic models of the Ciceronian period.

In a commendable effort to revive interest in early Christian poetry Kuhnmuensch has here presented selections from the poets of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries — from Juvencus to Fortunatus. Thirty-one writers are represented, all of them possessing marked merit of one sort or another. These selections include many forms of poetry and a great variety of subject-matter. The *Gospel Epic* of Juvencus, the *Heptateuch* of Cyprian, the *Phoenix* of Lactantius, trick poems (acrostics, etc.) from the *Liber Panegyricus* of Porphyry, hymns of Hilary, Ambrose, Prudentius, Fortunatus, and others, the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius, Paulinus' letters to Ausonius, Tiro Prosper's *Poema Conjugis ad Uxorem*, *Life of Saint Martin* by Paulinus of Perigueux, Claudius Victor's Bible epic *Alethia*, and the *Paradise Lost* of Avitus are titles which will suggest the variety and intrinsic interest of the contents of the book. The selections are sufficient in extent and well chosen to give a fair sampling of this neglected field of literature.

The Introduction deals with the explanation for the late appearance of Christian poetry and with the character of early Latin hymnody. An ample and scholarly discussion of the historical and literary setting precedes the selections from each author. Two appendices deal with the revision of the hymns under

Urban VIII and with Commodian. At the end of the book are thirty-two pages of notes explaining difficult and obscure matters involved in the selections. There is an excellent, though incomplete, Bibliography. No mention is made of the college editions of Latin hymns by March (1874), and Merrill (1904), though these works are as important as some included in Kuhnmuensch's list.

An important feature of this book is an accompanying translation of most of the selections, thus making it available to a wider circle of readers. These translations are given on the page facing the text. In the case of many of the more famous poems the author has used well-known classical translations. For selections from Ausonius the Loeb Library translation by H. G. Evelyn-White is used by permission. Translations by Msgr. Henry, Father Caswall, Cardinal Newman, J. M. Neale, R. F. Davis, Pope and Davis, Archbishop Trench, and Dryden are used, for which due credit is always given. One who is familiar with the "translations" of these famous hymns will not be surprised to find here and there but slight resemblance between the English version and the original. In some extreme cases the Latin text seems to offer merely a theme for an original poem by the "translator." The portions translated by the author show considerable unevenness in the quality of the translation, though the spirit of the original is uniformly well represented and the versions involve many skillful and apposite turns of expression. Sometimes the version is a mere paraphrase losing the vividness of the original. One notices also many little inaccuracies, and at times a whole line or phrase of the original is omitted from the translation. The book is unfortunately marred at the beginning by two mistranslations, which are, however, not typical of the rest of the book. On p. 19 is a passage from Juvencus:

*Nec metus, ut mundi rapiant incendia secum
hoc opus; hoc etenim forsitan me subtrahet igni
tunc, cum . . .*

In this passage the *ut* clause is concessive, but Kuhnmuensch gives the syntactically impossible translation, "Nor need I fear that the

earth's conflagration will destroy this work," etc. On the same page,

*Et puro mentem riget amne canentis
dulcis Jordanis,*

"and bathe the mind of the poet (*canentis*) with the clear stream of the fresh-water Jordan," is translated by Kuhnmuensch, "and purify my mind with the clear waters of the sweetly-singing Jordan."

The book is beautifully and appropriately illustrated; the type is clear and the page attractive. There is no index.

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

CHARLES BURTON GULICK, *Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists*, with an English Translation, Vol. IV (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1930). Pp. x + 606. \$2.50.

The fourth volume of the Loeb Athenaeus includes Books VIII, IX, and X. Some of the topics covered are fish, vegetables, cooks, birds, gluttons, drinking customs, and overemphasis of athletics. Of the general character of the translation it is only necessary to say that Professor Gulick maintains the high level of the previous volumes and shows the same deftness in dealing with the cumbersome mass of heterogeneous information supplied by Athenaeus.

A few slips have been noted. On p. 448E Athenaeus in classifying proper names gives ἡ ἄθεα ὀνόματα, οἷον Κλεώνυμος, ἡ θεοφόρα, οἷον Διονύσιος, which is translated "or names which are godless, like Cleonymus, or have a god in them, like Dionysius." A note explains "godless" as "lacking the stem of theos, 'god'." It would seem that, as θεοφόρα means "containing the name of some god," its opposite, ἄθεα, must mean "not containing the name of a god"; i.e. the class is designed to exclude words with the roots Διο-, Ἀπολλο-, etc. and not words containing θεο-.

There is some uncertainty in the spelling of proper names in the translation: Stageirite on p. 105, but Stagirite on p. 305. To

be sure the Greek text shows the same variation, but consistency would seem preferable in the English. "Mitylenaeans" occurs twice (pp. 425 and 479) in spite of *Mutu-* in the Greek.

YALE UNIVERSITY

H. M. HUBBELL

ARTHUR WEIGALL, *Nero, the Singing Emperor of Rome*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1930). Pp. vii+425. \$5.

When Henderson wrote his biography of Nero¹ a generation ago, he argued with a great deal of force and sanity that Nero's rule was, on the whole, wise and merciful, and that his character was by no means as black as it had been painted. Weigall in a well-written volume, which with its disclaimer of special pleading (p. 6) and its rather full citation of ancient and modern authorities (pp. 407-17) seems to claim serious consideration, goes much farther and gives Nero a complete suit of whitewash. A detailed discussion of his views is impossible in a brief review, even were it worth while. By selecting and interpreting his evidence, disregarding chronology when it serves his purpose, and even occasionally ascribing to ancient authorities what they do not say he makes his Nero stand forth in an evil world as a wise and gracious prince, true grandson of the noble Germanicus (p. 111 *et passim*), merciful beyond all his predecessors (p. 226), head of a court which became the artistic and intellectual center of the world (p. 278), but maligned by the bigoted and puritanical aristocrats who could not understand the genuine artistic genius who felt it his duty to use his supreme gift of song "as a means of uniting humanity in loyalty to the imperial throne" (p. 356). It is true that he had faults, but they were the faults of the artistic temperament. It is also true that he killed his mother, but he did this because he loved her and death alone could save her from the consequences of her own acts (p. 193-211). That there is some truth to this picture no one can deny, but it is as one-sided and unbalanced as the portrait presented by Tacitus.

¹ Cf. Bernard W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*: London, Methuen and Co. (1903).

As the author nowhere states his indebtedness to other writers, the reviewer indulged in a little source hunting with somewhat surprising results. Weigall has used the obvious ancient writers and cites them frequently but erratically. Weigall's own works are frequently referred to. Henderson is mentioned a few times but with no suggestion of any special debt. As far as I observed, every other reference to ancient or modern writers also occurs in the same connection in Henderson. This can hardly be a coincidence, and there is nothing anywhere that suggests that Weigall had ever seen the works he glibly quotes. The versions of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (pp. 140-43), which Weigall calls a play (p. 410), and of the inscription from Karditza (pp. 363f) look for all the world like copies of Henderson's versions (pp. 51-53 and 390f) with just such changes as the schoolboy makes when he cribs his report from the encyclopaedia.

RUSSEL M. GEER

BROWN UNIVERSITY

S. A. COOK AND OTHERS, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, "Rome and the Mediterranean 218-133 B.C.": Cambridge, University Press (1930). Pp. xxv + 843, with 13 maps and 7 tables and plans. \$9.50.

The eighth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* takes up the critical period between the beginning of the second Punic War and the destruction of Numantia. It is a period of greater unity than that covered by the preceding volume, a period in which a single interest more completely holds the stage. It might almost be termed a history of the rise of the Scipio family.

The volume begins with a chapter on Polybius, admirably written by Mr. Glover. Polybius, who so often suffers at the hands of literary historians, has been treated with great sympathy and appreciation. His shortcomings are not, however, glossed over, and the monotony of his style is emphasized. His avoidance of hiatus is mentioned (p. 22). Gildersleeve's remark might well have been quoted to the effect that there is one hiatus that

Polybius cannot avoid, viz. the hiatus in the face of his readers. Though the chapter on Polybius is admirably written I question the wisdom of devoting twenty-four pages to even so important a source for this period of history.

Hannibal's invasion of Italy is admirably treated (pp. 25-56) by Mr. B. L. Hallward of Cambridge University. If his dramatic effects are not so skillfully drawn as Mommsen's, he still treats Hannibal's career with vividness and sympathy. His closing sentence in the description of Hannibal's character (p. 107) deserves quotation: "[Scipio's] figure is lit up by the dawn of Rome's imperial greatness, but yet more brilliant is the figure of his opponent which by the fire of genius lit the darkness that was settling upon Carthage." It seems to me, however, that in his discussion of Fabius (pp. 48-51) the estimable old gentleman is treated too gently. To have founded a reputation merely on an ability to keep out of Hannibal's way seems to me a rather unearned triumph.

M. Holleaux again contributes to this volume. His work covers the relation of Rome to Macedon and to Antiochus (pp. 116-240). Mr. Benecke (pp. 241-305) deals in an admirable way with the fall of the Macedonian monarchy and Rome's relations to the Hellenistic states. Herr Schulten of the University of Erlangen describes the conquest of Spain by the Romans in Chapter X (pp. 306-25). Professor Frank has been asked to contribute the chapters on Italy and on Roman government (pp. 326-87). Professor Duff, the well-known authority on Latin literature, writes of the beginnings of Latin literature in Chapter XIII (pp. 388-422). Roman religion and philosophy are treated by Mr. Cyril Bailey (pp. 423-65), and the fall of Carthage is described by Mr. Hallward and Mr. Charlesworth (pp. 466-94). Mr. Bevan describes (pp. 495-533) the contemporary history of the Jews. A new name has been added to the contributors in the chapter on Thrace (534-60), which is written by Professor Kazarow of the University of Sofia. The relation of Rome to the states on the Bosphorus, to Pergamum, and to Rhodes is ably dealt with by Mr. Rostovtzeff (pp. 561-667), and finally the chapter on Hellenistic

Art (pp. 668-708) is from the able pen of Mr. Ashmole. This volume of the *Cambridge History* is thus the work of the scholars of several nations. In width of view and in authoritativeness of detail much has thus been gained.

It is impossible in the space that the reviewer commands to discuss adequately all these chapters. The chapter on the fall of Carthage is, in my opinion, a brilliant piece of writing. The epilogue by Charlesworth is especially notable. The transitory character of Carthaginian influence could in no other way be brought more vividly to the reader's mind than by his simple statement (p. 493): ". . . in thought, in art, in literature, in language we can find nothing, except that the word *gorilla* seems to have been brought first to civilization by the Carthaginian Admiral Hanno."

It seems to the reviewer that in the chapters dealing with Rome's relation to the smaller states, as for instance Syria, Pergamum, and Rhodes, emphasis has been put too largely upon matters of constitutional development rather than upon social and political events. The chapter on art can be especially commended. An instance of clear and incisive writing is Bailey's description of the Nike of Samothrace and its place in art (pp. 675-77).

Frank's description of the constitutional development of Rome during this period is clear and interesting. He writes with that simplicity and directness which have made his work so popular and so justly esteemed.

The chapter on literature by Duff is surprisingly complete considering the amount of history covered by this volume. Six pages are devoted to Plautus, and quotations of respectable length from that author are given. The chapter is no mere dry enumeration of facts but a vivid description of the rise of Latin literature. On p. 19 Glover says that one Roman historian, A. Postumius, wrote in Greek. On p. 419 Duff says that four early Roman historians wrote in Greek. As a matter of fact a fifth should also be added, the son of the elder Africanus.

No student of history can consult this volume without being thankful to its editors for the fine set of bibliographies which it

contains and for the twenty tables and maps which contribute so much to its usefulness. It seems to the reviewer that Volume VIII represents a distinct advance on the high standard set by Volume VII. It is not always that a compiled history serially published increases in value and charm as does this one.

OBERLIN COLLEGE

LOUIS E. LORD

SIR THOMAS L. HEATH, *A Manual of Greek Mathematics*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1931). Pp. xvi + 552. \$5.

Sir Thomas Heath's name attached to this book is an assurance of the sound scholarship to be found within its covers. His larger work, *A History of Greek Mathematics*,¹ as the author says, covers substantially the same ground, though not in the same way, and, as he also says, is the more useful of the two for the classical scholar or the mathematician. This *Manual of Greek Mathematics* is a briefer description of the development and content of Greek mathematics from its roots in Babylonia and Egypt, through its fairly simple beginnings, up to the intricate and beautiful structure of geometry as Euclid, Archimedes, and Apollonius fashioned it, the trigonometry of Ptolemy, and the algebra of Diophantus. The author's plan makes it necessary to omit for the most part citations of ancient works by page and line, and bibliographical references; these, of course, will be greatly missed by the classicist particularly. The book is in fact intended for the general reader and is a clear, concise, scientific account, in modern form, of the mathematical works of the ancient Greeks. It is not beyond the powers of the layman to understand if he is willing to play the part of Menon's slave boy to Sir Thomas' Socrates; and indeed it would be a useful discipline for any student of the classics to work his way through a book like this, for the sake of coming away with a heightened admiration for achievements of Greek civilization known to too many of us only by hearsay.

After the first introductory chapter, Chapter II deals with numerical notation and the Greek method of performing the fun-

¹ Oxford, Clarendon Press (1921), two volumes.

damental calculations, including the necessary references to Babylonian and Egyptian reckoning. In a summary of this sort it was of course impossible to follow out all the vagaries of the scribes, particularly of those of the papyri. I note, e.g., that the symbol for $2/3$ ($\overline{\text{ro}}$) found in *P. Mich.* 621 is not mentioned, though an abbreviation used in certain manuscripts is spoken of; and not enough, to my mind, is said of the method of denoting thousands by prolonging some stroke of the letter to form a sign above it, which is the common practice of most mathematical papyri that have come to my attention. But of course this is not a manual of palaeography as well as of mathematics. The later chapters carry the reader systematically and in general chronologically through the history of Greek mathematics, dealing with the lives of the individuals mentioned and at generous length with their contributions. One detail which I think merits special mention is the care taken by the author in the chapters preceding IX, which deals with Euclid, to show how the content of the "elements" of geometry was gradually built up by the successive pre-Euclidean scholars. This is done very carefully, and with every evidence of keen observation and interpretation.

At the present time, when the mathematical historians are particularly active in their study of Egyptian records and when the publication of the Moscow papyrus has stimulated an interest already thoroughly aroused, Sir Thomas Heath's attitude on the much debated question, who began the science of mathematics, should be of interest. He stands, apparently, with Neugebauer among recent writers, and is not persuaded by his own and others' studies to exalt the part, admittedly a great one, played by the Egyptians. He does not say very much on the subject, thinking, I imagine, that the best argument is to be drawn from the story of Greek mathematics itself; but he does say this (p. i):

In the case of mathematics, it is the Greek contribution which it is most essential to know, for it was the Greeks who first made mathematics a science. . . . The Greeks in fact laid down the first principles in the shape of the indemonstrable axioms or postulates to be assumed, framed the definitions, fixed the terminology, and invented the methods *ab initio*;

and this they did with such unerring logic that, in the centuries which have since elapsed, there has been no need to reconstruct, still less to reject as unsound, any essential part of their doctrine.

A judgment along these lines will be, I fancy, eminently satisfactory to classical scholars who are acquainted with the manifestations of Greek genius in so many different phases, even though they strive to be impartial and though they admit, as they must, that the Egyptians, before the Greeks, had performed mathematical feats that are worthy of all admiration and that may have been better known to the Greeks themselves than they are to us today. Yet when one reads the mathematical exercises preserved in Egyptian papyri, he will, of necessity, miss that urge to systematize, generalize, and make abstract that is characteristic of Greek science as far back as we know it; and he will observe that it was evidently difficult for the Egyptian mathematician to help dragging bread, baskets, beer, and other groceries into the best of his scientific texts. It must be acknowledged that such things are a real handicap in the development of *pure* science. Possibly the fairest answer that can be given to the question whether the Egyptians invented the science of mathematics would be, "Yes and no — but mostly no."

This *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, although it is dated 1931, was not deferred long enough to allow its author to take advantage of the publication of the Moscow papyrus in full by W. W. Struve.² The Appendix (pp. 520-22) dealing with this subject is therefore based on the partial publications of this text by Tura-jeff and others. Sir Thomas speaks of the two most interesting problems (Nos. 14 and 10) of this papyrus, which involve the calculation of the volume of a truncated pyramid on a square base and the area of the surface of a hemisphere. I must leave to the mathematicians the discussion of this document, but I find it interesting to note that, before seeing the entire papyrus, Sir Thomas says of the two problems (p. 522): "It may be that, even when the papyrus has been published, these puzzles will remain

² Berlin, Julius Springer (1930).

unsolved," and that Dr. Kurt Vogel of Vienna, reviewing³ Struve's text and commentary, writes of Problem No. 10 that it "bringt dem Historiker die grösste Überraschung und stellt ihm ein meines Erachtens zur Zeit noch ungelöstes Rätsel."

FRANK E. ROBBINS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

JOHN C. SMOCK, *The Greek Element in English Words*, with Introduction by the Editor, Percy W. Long: New York, Macmillan Company (1931). Pp. xiv + 267 and vi + 356. \$15.

It is doubtful if any worthwhile work is ever done, unless as a major factor is present the pure joy of the work. *The Greek Element in English Words* is such a work of love. Dr. Smock, though from early life a lover of Greek, specialized in geology and metallurgy, and to those fields devoted the main portion of a busy life as professor at Rutgers College, as State Geologist of New Jersey, and elsewhere. The comparative leisure of his later years he devoted to gathering, arranging, and verifying the material of this book. Death called him before the work was ready for publication, but the material has been edited by Dr. Percy W. Long, a department editor of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, and copyrighted and furnished with a Memorial Preface by Arthur F. Mabon, Trustee.

The author's purpose (p. xiii) is two-fold: first, "to present to authorities in education . . . evidence that the Greek element in English has been underestimated," and that the study of Greek deserves emphasis in institutions of general culture; second, to provide a reference manual for initiators of specialist nomenclature.

The book presents a selective list of approximately 130,000 English words, of which about 50,000 are not found in the general dictionaries, nor in large measure in any specialist dic-

³ Cf. *Archiv f. Geschichte d. Math. d. Naturwissenschaften u. d. Technik* XIII (1931), 446-63, especially p. 457.

tionary. "The selection of these additions has been for the most part entrusted to specialists with instructions to include from the point of view of philological as well as scientific interest" (p. xiii). Though fewer than 10,000 of the English words listed are simple adaptations of single Greek words, the author states that more than a million English words have been derived or constructed from Greek, a number constantly growing because of new coinage. The great mass of these words "are compounded from Greek combining forms or are hybrids in which the base, prefix, suffix, or some other element is Greek." In chemistry alone 400,000 names contain at least one Greek element. But to record all Greek derivatives, e.g. the thousands of zoological genera beginning with *Eu-*, would add "little information to compensate for the repetition" and "the rate of new coinage would soon render any list incomplete." The reviewer believes, however, that a real service has been rendered by the complete record of *-ism* and of half a dozen other common suffixes.

The etymologies given are founded on those of the Oxford English and other general dictionaries, of special dictionaries, and of the Greek scholars and specialists who collected lists in their respective fields. These were critically reviewed by the author and later by the editor.

The material is arranged in two alphabetical lists: the first, of English words with the Greek source of each; the second, of Greek words and combining forms with their English derivatives. To one who has tried to form such a list it is clear that many difficulties arise and many distinctions must be made. The author and editor appear to have exercised sound judgment in making these distinctions and solving these difficulties. One illustration will be sufficient. An English word may have been formed from a Greek compound occurring "in essentially the same form or sense in a conspicuous writer (or in a historically accessible Greek dictionary)," or it may have been recomposed from the Greek parts, by analogy, without knowledge of the previous existence of the Greek compound. Frequently it cannot be determined by which method a given word was formed. The author prefers to assign all such

words, except those of recent formation, to historical antecedents instead of to their component parts.

In Part II clearness of presentation is secured by distributing derivatives, e.g. those of αἷμα under αἶμ-, αἷμα, αἵματ-, αἵματο-, -αἰμία, and the Greek compounds based on αἷμα. Italicized labels, e.g. *Ecol.* = Ecology and *Psa.* = Psychoanalysis, "indicate the principal fields of thought in which these words ordinarily occur." Either the Greek sources are briefly defined, or a reference to an author or lexicon indicates the first user of the word or the authority from which its later use was presumably derived. A list of such authors is furnished, and also a page of Greek terminal elements.

The author has achieved his two main purposes. Moreover, to the lover of words he has supplied a mine of ready information, and to the casual student a fascinating field for browsing.

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Miss Calla A. Guyles, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. The aims of this Department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Shall *Hints* Include a Question Box?

For several years the editorial note at the beginning of the department of Hints for Teachers has included a statement to the effect that "questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department." It has occurred to the new editor that this is an opportunity of which we have not taken full advantage in the past. Surely the same question which has arisen in your mind must have occurred to others who would benefit by a scholarly answer, if they knew where to obtain it. Teachers and professors of experience frequently receive requests for explanations or suggestions. Whether you belong in the class of the helping or the helped, if you will send either your question alone or the question with its answer to the editor, arrangements will be made for publishing those of the most general interest. In this way not only one or two will profit, but so will others who need the information but would never think to ask for it. If questions arrive which the editor feels incapable of answering (and there will surely be many), they will be passed on to authorities who can answer them. Perhaps we may even stir up a little discussion between authorities who disagree. Will you give the plan a chance by passing on to us questions which have come to you with your answers to them or questions which you want answered? We shall use your name or not, just as you request.

Suggestions for Increasing Interest

If teachers of Latin wish to increase the enrollment in their departments and to add to student interest, perhaps these suggestions contributed by Miss Kathryn Bennett, head of the Latin department at the Senior High School in Manitowoc, Wis., will prove their value in practice as they have done in Manitowoc.

In teaching Caesar we make extensive use of modeling clay to illustrate certain strategic positions, plans of battlefields, etc.

We have a small square-topped table, and I had glass cut to fit the top. On this glass one group worked out the plan for the town of Besançon, in connection with the campaign against Ariovistus. When a stream is indicated, the glass serves nicely.

The siege works before Alesia were worked out in detail by members of the class. The clay was used this year to picture the boat race in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*. The description in Vergil seems a bit involved; but the student who planned the illustration used paper boats, changing their position as the passage was translated. He used a rock for the goal as indicated by Vergil, and the table was always a rallying place before class not only for the Seniors but for the underclassmen as well.

To illustrate Caesar's triple line of battle we secured lead soldiers and glued them to a board in the proper alignment. We secured the soldiers from a man who cuts them with a die for a factory. The cost was trifling. One boy cut two shields from aluminum and fastened them with a bent javelin to show what happened when Caesar broke up the Helvetian battle formation in Book 1.

I make extensive use of my bulletin board, changing the material at least once a week. I use clippings, pictures, post cards, etc. Almost any daily paper will yield usable clippings. The students bring in much of the material. Every week last year one paper ran a full-page cut of some familiar character in mythology. This made good material for the board.

The students are very much interested in Roman and Greek coins. We had a loan collection during the year which proved valuable in adding interest to the study of some particular point in Caesar or Cicero. This collection came from the University of Wisconsin. All this was on the principle that "things seen are mightier than things heard."

We have used several sets of slides in our club and in the classroom, one set on the Roman Forum, one on famous characters in mythology, one on the life of Caesar, and another on the wanderings of Aeneas.

In our Cicero class we had several debates, one on capital punishment, another on the question of the advisability of centralization of power.

For our semester test in Caesar we used a standard test, self-made. Fifty questions were given one day and fifty the next. The questions were to be answered by a word, or short phrase, or else the multiple choice, true, false, or blank filling was employed. This form of test gives a good check upon the ability of the class.

Monday is reserved for vocabulary tests in the Caesar classes plus a quiz on some portion of conjugation, say the active subjunctive of the first conjugation. I find that translation is slow on Monday, but that this material which has been drilled on during the preceding week comes back in good form. These papers are returned the ensuing Monday and are then filed by each pupil in his manila folder and kept in the cupboard until the end of the quarter and then used in making out the quarterly grade. The students are anxious to have these folder-registers show good work; so they work hard on their vocabulary, forms, and syntax.

Ten new vocabulary words are placed on the board every day for the Caesar classes. They are used for drill before translation each day. Principal parts and conjugations are dealt with in the same way; so that the written work for the ensuing Monday is all prepared for by the preceding Friday.

The Cicero class has a regular lesson on mythology every Monday. I find this work simplifies the work in Vergil.

We try to have "live wire" material from the Latin department in our school publications, and we do not confine ourselves to the serious side entirely. I think a bit of fun and humor mixed in with the serious is a panacea for the feeling that Latin must necessarily be dry as dust.

I had a fine model of a Homeric ship made by an underclassman this year. The sails actually could be brailed up, and the whole ship was correctly made in every detail. The same boy made an old Roman calendar of the time of Numa, using a square block of wood and putting the numerals on in colors. The ideas for the Homeric ship we got from a book entitled *Ancient Ships*¹ in the Wisconsin University library.

The students have written in several times to the classics department of the University of Wisconsin. If there is a point for which we cannot find a satisfactory explanation, the student writes in to the department and reads the reply to the class. They invariably ask that they be allowed to keep these letters. It gives them an interesting contact, and the class enjoys an opinion that comes from the powers that be.

Our Latin Club is a big factor in stimulating interest in the classics. We had an enrollment of one hundred and three last year. Meetings are held every fourth Thursday. We try to make the programs interesting and pointed. The students elect two consuls every semester. These pre-

¹ Cf. Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1895).

side alternately. At the same time praetors, aediles, quaestors, and censors are elected, the quaestor having charge of the financial affairs of the Club. In June we always have a picnic with plenty of good things to eat.

I have what is called an "Extra Time" class after the regular session every day. People who have been absent or who work more slowly than the other members of the Caesar classes come to this class for thirty or forty minutes. It means extra work for the teacher, of course, but it is one way of saving the weak student.

Last year a student made an especially fine map of Gaul. This map was framed and hung up, to his great delight.

Each Caesar student is required to read *The Standard Bearer, With Caesar's Legions, A Friend of Caesar, or With the Eagles*² during the last semester. The last-named book is a great favorite. A simple book report is made and handed in.

In Cicero the background must be built in, largely. Students give short oral reports on famous Romans and historical events mentioned in the orations.

In the Cicero class last year one of our Juniors wrote to General Pershing to ask him what qualities he considered necessary in a great commander. Cicero raises this point in the oration for Pompey.

The Indo-European Family of Languages

It is perhaps worth while somewhere in the four years' Latin course in the high schools to use half an hour in calling attention to the fact that Latin belongs to the great Indo-European family of languages and that all languages of Europe (except Basque, Turkish, and certain elements of Finnish and Hungarian) belong to the same group. The material here offered may prove helpful in illustrating the relationship of these kindred languages:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>
duo	zwei	two
dens	Zahn	tooth
decem	zehn	ten
domo	zähmen	tame

² Cf. A. C. Whitehead, *The Standard Bearer*: Chicago, American Book Co. (1915); R. F. Wells, *With Caesar's Legions*: Boston, Lothrop, Lee and Shepard; W. S. Davis, *A Friend of Caesar*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1900); and P. L. Anderson, *With the Eagles*: New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1929).

<i>Latin</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>
tres	drei	three
tenuis	dünn	thin
tu	du	thou
tum	denn	then
tono	Donner	thunder
torreo	dorren	thirst
quattuor	vier	four
quinque	fünf	five
quercus	Föhre	fir
pes	Fuss	foot
piscis	Fisch	fish
pannus	Fahne	flag
pullus	Fohlen	foal
pater	Vater	father
cor	Herz	heart
canis	Hund	hound
caput	Haupt	head
cella	Halle	hall
centum	Hundert	hundred
genu	Knie	knee
ager	Acker	acre
gelidus	kalt	cold
foris	Thür	door
fera	Thier	deer
vallis	Thal	dale
facio	thun	do
frater	Bruder	brother
frons	Braue	brow
frango	brechen	break
fructus	Brot	bread
flos	Blume	bloom
flo	blasen	blow

The article on the Indo-European Languages in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will provide the necessary information for the use of this material.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

CARLETON COLLEGE

More Golf (or Golf as Grammarians Play It)

The nine-hole golf course outlined below was prepared by an English teacher, Joanna Curtis, of Gillespie Park Junior High School, Greensboro, N. C. While this particular course is intended for English students, the idea may be easily adapted for use with Latin classes and should prove to be an incentive to them.

This six weeks we are going to play nine holes of golf in a great Grammatical Tournament out on that famous Course of Good English.

As players you will each use three clubs; your text book will be your driver, hard work will be your mashie, and clear thinking will be your putter. A knowledge of English grammar and punctuation will be your golf ball. To sink the knowledge into the hole, which is your head, of course, you must be able to use the knowledge correctly.

Many of you have not played golf often. Therefore, before we play each hole, we shall practise a bit on how to overcome the obstacles, leap the ditches, and escape the sand traps of that hole.

Remember that the object of the game is to get the ball into the hole (the knowledge into a usable form in your head) with as few strokes of your clubs as possible. What is a stroke? A stroke is a mistake. On practice days score will not be kept; but when the great tournament comes off, every mistake counts a stroke. The player with the low score wins.

Get out your clubs and ball and begin practising. This is the way the course lies:

Hole 1. Uses of capital letters, the period, the question mark, and the exclamation point.

Hole 2. Uses of the comma.

Hole 3. Uses of the semicolon and the colon.

Hole 4. Uses of the apostrophe.

Hole 5. Irregular verbs. The principal parts of eat, drink, see, come, get, fight, sing, do, go, lay, lie, break, speak, freeze, rise, begin, ring, sit, set, sink, swim, know, grow, show, arise, awake, bet, bid, bite, bleed, blow, bring, burst, choose, creep, draw, drive, fall, fly, flee, give, hide, lead, lend, ride, run, shake, shine, shrink, steal, swing, take, weep, write.

Hole 6. Conjugation in sentence form of irregular verbs in active voice, indicative mode.

Hole 7. Agreement of verb with subject.

Hole 8. Declension of personal pronouns.

Hole 9. Agreement of pronouns with antecedent.

WHO WILL WIN

THE GREAT GRAMMATICAL TOURNAMENT

ON THE

FAMOUS COURSE OF GOOD ENGLISH?

Word Ancestry

Writing in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL of last March about *vertere*, *versum* and *versare*, *versatum* ("turn"), I stated that the English derivatives of these words are so numerous that to mention all of them in a single article would be impossible. But here are some that seem to me worth while.

Vertere and *versare* are compounded with numerous prepositions, and the meanings of these words become broadened. "Invert" means literally to turn in, or upon; then, to turn in a different direction; then to turn upside down. "Subvert" means to turn under, or from underneath, to overturn, destroy. "Controvert," to turn against, to dispute. A controversy is a dispute. A perverse person is one who is turned the wrong way. All these words will suggest others closely related to them.

Because a furrow is *turned* by a plow, it is called in Latin *versus*. Then, because a furrow is, if skillfully plowed, a straight line, a straight line is called *versus*. From that, *versus* becomes a line of writing, especially a line of poetry, and so we have our English word "verse"! The Latin *ob* means "in front of, facing." So the obverse of a coin or medal is the "front" side — the side we should call "heads" in tossing a coin — and the reverse is what we should call "tails." If you have become versed in some business, or occupation, or art, or science, it is because you have turned yourself about in it, for that is what *versari* means. And still there are others!

WILLIS A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILL.

Another Echo of Roman Conditions

Will Rogers suggests a new plan for relieving the depression. It is the simple one of calling all debts off. He says:

There can't be over a dozen men in the world who are owed more than they owe; so you wouldn't be hurting many. And besides, if you do give them some worry, that's what they've been giving everybody else for years. It's not supply and demand; it's interest that has got the world by the ears. This plan would give great temporary relief to 99 per cent and wouldn't hurt the others long, for they would soon have it back again. I make it a motion. Do I hear a second?

This suggestion made more or less in jest is nothing new. It was tried in Rome at various times and is of special interest to us because it was one of the chief planks in the platform of Catiline. A reading of the second oration of Cicero *Against Catiline* shows very clearly what the situation was.

B. L. ULLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Chance for More Background

Teachers whose students have enjoyed Paul L. Anderson's *With the Eagles* will be glad to see an announcement of two new books by the same author. The one already in print is called *A Slave of Catiline*. It has received enthusiastic press reports. One in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for July 11, 1931, includes the statements: "Mr. Anderson has evidently steeped himself in the history and literature of the period so as to have at his command a complete picture of its life. His gift lies not so much in picturesqueness of style as in the use of telling detail. And his portrait of Catiline is sympathetic and convincing." *For Freedom and For Gaul* is a book by the same author promised for early autumn delivery. All three books are published by D. Appleton and Company, New York. *A Slave of Catiline* is priced at two dollars.

Magma

[Edited by Royce Regincklif of Nulliusinterest University.]

Attention has often been called to the fact that characters like Lazarus and Alcestis who have returned from the grave have maintained an unbroken silence as to their experiences. It would be a brave poet who would dare to attempt so difficult a theme, and one of the occasions when Homer nodded was surely when he tried to compose a song for the Sirens (*Odyssey* XII, 184-91). According to modern conceptions of these ladies, one would expect them to dwell upon the pleasures which they had to offer; but Homer perhaps had a truer instinct in making them speak of their knowledge. The author of *Genesis*, likewise, tempted Adam and Eve with fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. At the present hour, also, there are many who assure us that our troubles are largely due to the fact that our knowledge has outrun our ability to make use of it.

The words *tibi pulcher* in Horace, *Epistles* I, 19, 45 are usually taken as meaning "fair in your own eyes," referring to the poet's conceit. Since the context deals with Horace's refusal to give author's readings and his policy of reserving his writings for the ears of Jove, i.e. Augustus, it seems to me that the phrase might equally well mean "fair for yourself" and refer to his selfishness. A similar outcropping of such a characteristic was reported by Mary Borden (Mrs. Edward L. Spears of London) in a recent lecture delivered before childhood friends in Chicago. According to her, at dinner parties the famous playwright Sir James Barrie economically writes upon his cuffs such bright ideas as may occur to him, reserving them for incorporation in his next work instead of passing them along to the party.

An almost inevitable form of jest in Homeric Ithaca consisted in adding to an inquiry as to how a stranger had arrived upon the island the formula "since I suppose you did not come here on foot," words which have been taken as having a serious bearing upon the Ithaca-Leucas controversy.¹ Perhaps one detail in the delineation of Laertes' decrepitude in *Odyssey* xxiv is the fact that at vss. 298-301 he failed to employ this ancient wheeze, almost a sure sign of impaired memory in a resident of that island.

Readers of Dr. Flexner's recent book¹ are likely to gather the impression that education in this country has all the faults and problems in comparison with conditions abroad. However, an interview with Sir Charles Grant Robertson, vice-chancellor of the University of Birmingham, as reported in the *Living Age* cccxi (1931), 96f, looks in the opposite direction. He says that Greek has virtually disappeared from the secondary schools of England and that "Latin has been reduced to a number of periods for which it fights barely as an equal with a dozen new subjects." He is one of a large group of scientists both in this country and abroad who are distressed by the narrowness of training which characterizes young workers in that field. He concludes as follows:

You can regard me if you wish as a jaundiced critic, but let me add that my anxiety is shared by many of the authoritative representatives of science. Nothing has more impressed me as a member of the committee on biology than the evidence of one distinguished scientist after another, emphasizing the increasing danger of breeding a race of illiterate and premature specialists. The annual reports of the committee on scientific and industrial research have for some years been showing the same red light of warning. Let me remind you also that the danger is not to the cause of science today or tomorrow, but twenty-five years ahead.

In the great renaissance of the last fifty years science has been represented in the universities, the schools, and the nation as a whole by men

¹ Cf. John A. Scott, "The Meaning of $\pi\epsilon\zeta\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the *Odyssey*," the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxiii (1928), 703f.

¹ Abraham Flexner, *Universities, American, English, German*: New York, Oxford University Press (1931).

of powerful minds and forceful personality, but also with a wide basis of general culture. These men are not the products of the educational system of today, but of a system which, curiously enough, they are largely responsible for destroying.

Who, and what intellectual type, will represent science in the schools, in the universities, and in the nation thirty years hence? Of one thing we may be quite certain, great causes and the cardinal generative ideas which would mould a nation's civilization depend on the persons who advocate them and on the intrinsic quality and value of the ideas that they advocate. I put to you the question: Are you satisfied that the young generation trained in and for science today will be able ten, twenty, thirty years hence to convince the nation of what science can do for the human mind as their predecessors unquestionably and deservedly have done? I wish, in the interests of science and of the nation to come, that I could answer the question with an unhesitating affirmative. But, frankly, I cannot.

In Horace, *Epistles* I, 19, 6 Homer is charged with being *vinosus* because of his praise of wine. As a matter of fact, though eating and drinking are frequently mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (as indeed they must have bulked large in the living of those days), yet there is surprisingly little said in praise of wine. I suppose that the calloused drinker who gulps down hard liquor without knowing — or caring — what brand or even what kind it is, is in a worse state than the connoisseur whose subtle taste can distinguish even the vintage of a favorite beverage. Horace, or his source, might have found an argument, therefore, in the fact that except for the mention of Pramnaean wine in *Iliad* xi, 639 and *Odyssey* x, 235 wine in Homer is just wine and nothing more. Of course the wine with which Odysseus drugged the Cyclops was obviously of a special sort, but its name, if it had one, is not mentioned. "Chieftains' wine" (γερούσιος οἶνος), which is mentioned a few times, does not seem to denote a special brand but merely the use to which wine was sometimes put.

Some one has said that puns are appreciated in any language in inverse ratio to the ease with which they are perpetrated in that tongue. This principle doubtless explains the reason why classical

puns are held in high esteem. Everyone has heard of the puns on οὐτις and μῆτις in *Odyssey* ix and Cicero's *ius Verrinum*, but there seems to have been a dearth of good puns of this sort. "Old Greek," as Professor North of Hamilton College used to be called, had a few interesting remarks on the subject¹:

Puns are Ishmaelites in literature. Everybody has a sneer to fling at them. Certainly the professional punster, who dedicates his whole soul to the business of catching and torturing unoffending words and phrases, is one of the meanest of all who sport the unruly member. Yet puns are not to be altogether despised, when they come unsought. They are as old as Homer, and indigenous to every language. Milton introduces an assortment of them into the *Paradise Lost*. Queerly enough, they are *all uttered by fallen angels*. This may have been Milton's way of expressing contempt for this species of wit. He made a proper disposition of them, at all events. For they are lame attempts at humor. As a class, punsters are cold-blooded, irreverent, and remorseless. Nothing is too pure or sacred or high to be assailed by them, or to be used as a means of assault.

W. A. Ellis, one of our associate editors and chief proofreader for the *Chicago Daily News*, was giving his granddaughter a lift with her Vergil. She came to the word *hymenaeus* and hesitated. "That," he said helpfully, "is from the name of the god Hymen." "Oh, yes," she replied. "He was the god of storms."

Merry (ad *Odyssey* vi, 12) comments upon the fact that other Phaeacian names refer to naval pursuits and finds a touch of irony in the warlike character of the name given to Alcinous. As it seems to me, the different quality of his name is due to preparation for the fact that "the daughter of Alcinous" (vs. 139) alone stood her ground upon the advance of Odysseus, while all her companions ran away. Nausicaa, though her own name was like the rest, on that occasion proved worthy of her sire with his martial name.

¹ Apud S. N. D. North, *Old Greek*, an Old-Time Professor in an Old-Fashioned College, a Memoir of Edward North with Selections from His Lectures: New York, McClure, Phillips and Co. (1905), 315f. The italics are mine.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Announcement

Since the Bimillennium Vergilianum is now officially a thing of the past, it seems inadvisable to publish further accounts of Vergilian celebrations. Accordingly those who have recently sent in local items of this character will understand why they are not being published.

Brown University

Francis Greenleaf Allinson passed away June 23, 1931, at the age of seventy-four. He was born at Burlington, N. J., December 16, 1856, and received his A.B. degree in 1876 from Haverford College, which conferred the honorary LL.D. upon him in 1931. He had been on the faculty of Brown University for thirty-two years and became Emeritus Professor of Greek Literature and History in 1928. Among his writings were *Greek Lands and Letters* (in collaboration with his wife), of which a third edition has just appeared; the volume on *Menander* in the Loeb Classical Library (1921); and *Lucian, Satirist and Artist* (1926). He was president of the American Philological Association in 1922 and was Annual Professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1910-11.

Cleveland

An interesting example of how the Vergil celebration has exerted a continuing influence may be seen in the Shaker Heights High School at

Cleveland, O. This school, under the direction of M. Evelyn Dilley, got out a Latin calendar for the months from September, 1930, to August, 1931. A page was devoted to each month, on each page was an illustration with a Latin motto, and in the square devoted to each day was printed the proper Latin designation for that day — the whole constituting a valuable calendar which would be useful as a gift to one interested in the classics. The matter is referred to here at this late date because the same school plans to publish another calendar, upon a somewhat larger scale, for the next twelve months.

Hazleton, Pennsylvania

Imago Latina, an original Latin play written by members of the Vergil class, was performed before the general assembly of the senior high school at Hazleton, Pa., on February 26, 1931. It centered about the Dido-Aeneas episode, showing two modern girls who are granted their wish to see Dido and Aeneas in Carthage and are transported back two thousand years. The contrast between ancient and modern customs, and the need of a truly international spirit and of sincere respect for the history and traditions of all peoples were high points in the performance.

Kirkville, Missouri

Miss Talitha Jennie Green, born near Barnesville, Mo., November 24, 1870, died of cancer at her home in Kirkville, Mo., May 24, 1931. She graduated from the University of Missouri in 1901, became assistant in Latin at the Kirkville State Normal School in 1903, was made head of the department in 1916, and chairman of the Division of Languages and Literature in 1925. She was first vice-president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1923-24, and two of her articles, "English Derivatives with Latin in the High School," and "Special-Methods Courses in the Teaching of Latin," were published in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XIV (1918), 39-47, and XXIII (1927), 121-30. That her affliction of the last two years was accepted philosophically may be seen by the following extract from a letter to President Eugene Fair of Teachers College: "It has occurred to me during the past week that these four things are the most comforting that can come to one in my condition: a philosophy of life, or a religion, that has been found equal to the stress of active life and that still holds strong in the days of failing health; the love of one's family; the respect of the community in which one has worked; and last, but not unimportant, the possession of a sufficient amount of this world's goods to provide for one's physical needs." Miss Green's personality and enthusiasm will be keenly missed by many members of our Association.

Los Angeles

On Thursday, December 18, 1930, the Classical Association of the Pacific States held a joint meeting with the Southern Section in the Women's Residence Hall of the University of Southern California. After luncheon Frederick M. Carey, president of the Classical Association, presided over a short business meeting. Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, spoke briefly of the relations existing between the Pacific States Classical Association and its Southern Section, and read a paper entitled "The Mesdames Aeneas." Rolland D. Stevens, Franklin High School, presented a vivid account of the Vergilian Cruise of which he was a member, and Anne E. Edwards, Beverly Hills High School, spoke of the celebration at the "tomb" of Vergil in the summer of 1930. The members thereupon adjourned to the Bovard Auditorium to hear Gordon J. Laing of the University of Chicago deliver one of a series of lectures on Roman Private Life.

University of Minnesota

Two performances of Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* were given as the commencement play at the University of Minnesota on June 5-6, 1931. The performances were under the direction of Helen Freeman, the New York actress, who also played the title rôle with Seniors in the subordinate parts.

University of Missouri

The University of Missouri has announced the gift by the Honorable Charles Baird of Kansas City of two classical prizes, open to all resident students at the University, viz. a prize of \$75 for the best piece of original work, creative or critical, in the field of Greek or Latin classics, and a prize of \$25 for the best piece of metrical translation from Horace, Vergil, Homer, or Greek tragedy.

Naples

One of the most interesting events growing out of the Vergilian Celebration was the unveiling at the approach to the "tomb" of Vergil in Naples of a replica of a bust in the National Museum which is attributed to Vergil. The copy was made of ancient marble by Signor F. de Luca, the eminent Neapolitan sculptor; and the supporting column carries the following inscription finished in red letters after the fashion of the Augustan period:

**P. VERGILIO MARONI
IUVENES OHIENSES
LITTERAS LATINAS DISCENTES
D. D.
LXX A. C. — MCMXXX A. D.**

The expenses connected with this undertaking were covered by small

contributions from Latin and Greek students in the high schools, colleges, and universities of Ohio; and the unveiling appropriately took place on April 21, 1931, the anniversary of the traditional date for the founding of Rome. The donors were represented by Henry A. Sanders of the American Academy at Rome and G. E. Dreyfus, American Consul-General at Naples. The Ohio Committee which carried through the enterprise so successfully consisted of Dorothy M. Seeger of the Rayen School, Youngstown, chairman; Dorothy M. Bell of Oberlin High School; Fred L. Hadsel of Miami University; and Victor D. Hill of Ohio University.

University of Nebraska

C. G. Lowe of the University of Nebraska has taken up his residence in Athens, where he is to be librarian of the Gennadeion in the American School of Classical Studies.

On Saturday, April 25, 1931, Grove Ettinger Barber, eighth president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (for 1912-13), passed away at Lincoln, Neb., at the ripe age of eighty-seven. Professor Barber was a teacher of the classics at the University of Nebraska, with various titles, from 1882 until his retirement in 1919 and even beyond that, for upon the request of the Board of Regents he continued to work upon a part-time basis. He was a valued member of that faculty for forty-one years. Before going to Nebraska he had been for nine years Professor of Latin and Greek at his alma mater, Hiram College, from which he graduated in 1871. He had a long and interesting life of public service, beginning, when he was a mere lad, as a fifer in the Federal Army in the Civil War. His duties in battle were to help the wounded off the field. The older members of the Association will recall his genial, gracious personality and miss his presence at our yearly meetings, which he used to attend regularly until advancing age began to draw too heavily upon his strength. — WALTER MILLER.

H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College

Those who attended the meetings of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at New Orleans in 1930 will remember Mary G. Cortner as the petite Senior in Newcomb College who took the part of Anna in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, and will be interested in learning that she won the second prize of three thousand dollars in cash and one year's tuition at an American conservatory of music in the finals of the Radio Audition conducted annually by the Atwater Kent Foundation.

Helen Rees Clifford of the classical staff at Newcomb College attended the summer session of the Institute of Art and Archaeology, University

of Paris, on one of the fellowships for American students awarded by the Institute.

Classical Association of the Pacific States

The Classical Association of the Pacific States met with the Central Section of that Association at the University of California on April 25, 1931. The program was in charge of the president of the Coast Association, Raymond D. Harriman of Stanford, and the president of the Section, Claire Thursby of Berkeley. After luncheon Ernest W. Martin of Stanford talked on "*The Aeneid* Cruise." There were also two addresses on archaeological subjects: the first by Hazel Hansen of Stanford on "Recent Excavations in Greek Lands"; and the other by Oliver M. Washburn of the University of California on "The Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar." At the business session Laurence Hartmus of Reed College was elected president of the Classical Association of the Pacific States for 1931-32.

Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section

The Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section, met on the new campus of the University of California at Los Angeles on May 2, 1931, to elect officers for the following year. The guests assembled at Kerckhoff Hall, the new Student Union building, for an extended tour of the campus. After luncheon Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, vice-president of the American Classical League and formerly Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, brought greetings from the American Classical League. Frederick M. Carey, president of the Section, then conducted a short business meeting at which the following officers were elected for the year 1931-32: president, Elizabeth Hoag of South Pasadena High School; vice-president, Homer E. Robbins of Pomona College; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Edna Cooper Ammons of Le Conte Junior High School; and Executive Committee: Mary Jane Dew, Walter A. Edwards, Mrs. Mable V. Jeffers, and E. T. Price. The program of the afternoon consisted of two parts: Cledith Robnett of Owensmouth High School giving an account of the summer session at the American Academy in Rome, and Homer E. Robbins presenting an illustrated lecture entitled "Following in the Footsteps of Vergil."

Pompeii

There has recently been found in the so-called House of Menander in the new excavations at Pompeii on a street parallel to the Via dell' Abbondanza the largest silver service which has been discovered from the period of classical antiquity. It contains 117 pieces as compared with

69 found at Berthouville, 70 at Hildesheim, and 108 at Boscoreale. Most of the individual pieces are similar in shape to those already found elsewhere, but several are of a new type. The house in which this collection was discovered is also of great interest for several other objects found therein, including a representation of the poet Menander, from which the house is for convenience to be named.

American Academy in Rome

Marbury B. Ogle of the University of Ohio has entered upon a three-year term as Director of the Classical School at the Roman Academy in succession to Henry A. Sanders, who has now returned to the headship of the Latin Department at the University of Michigan.

Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Southern Section

At the meeting of the Southern Section at Athens, Ga., April 23-25, 1931, the following officers were elected for 1931-32: president, R. B. Steele of Vanderbilt University; and secretary-treasurer, George Currie of Birmingham Southern University. The next meeting will be amalgamated with that of the Classical Association at the University of Cincinnati March 24-26, 1932.

College of Wooster

In the fall of 1930 a classical club was organized at the College of Wooster with a membership of forty. The club enjoyed an auspicious initial year, since the meetings were well attended and the programs were worth hearing. Gordon J. Laing of the University of Chicago and Louis E. Lord of Oberlin College appeared before the club in the course of the Vergilian Celebration.

The annual spring festival at Wooster, known as "Color Day," took the form this year of a Vergilian pageant, "The Poet Priest," written by Polly Post, '33, and presented on May 16, 1931, by a student cast of nearly three hundred.

York, Nebraska

The Classical Section of the Church Colleges of Nebraska met at York, March 21, 1931, Mrs. Esther Cooper of Cotner College presiding. The program consisted of an illustrated lecture on Rome by D. G. Burrage of Doane College and a paper, "Vergil and His Models," by J. J. Boggs of Hastings College. An informal discussion followed on matters of current interest to classical teachers. Milo H. Crosbie of Nebraska Central College was chosen chairman for the meeting next year, and J. C. Morgan secretary.

Recent Books¹

Compiled by RUSSEL M. GEER, Brown University

- ALBERTINI, EUGENE, AND OTHERS, *Mélanges Paul Thomas*, Recueil de Mémoires Concernant la Philologie Classique Dédié a Paul Thomas: Bruges, Imprimerie Sainte Catherine (1930). Pp. lxxvii+761.
- ALLEN, JAMES TURNER, *The First Year of Greek*²: New York, Macmillan Co. (1931). Pp. ix+383. \$2.25.
- ALLEN, THOMAS W., *Homeri Ilias*, Vol. I, Prolegomena; Vols. II and III, Text and Apparatus Criticus: New York, Oxford University Press (1931). Pp. viii+278; xiv+356; xiii+390. \$21.
- ANGUS, S., *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*, a Study in the Historical Background of Early Christianity: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1929). Pp. xx+444. \$4.
- ARISTOPHANES, *Eleven Comedies* (Blue and Gold Library): New York, Horace Liveright (1930). Pp. 480. \$3.50.
- BAKER, GEORGE PHILIP, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Revolution*: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. (1931). Pp. x+351. \$3.50.
- BRANTS, JOHANNA P. J., *Greek Vases*, Description of the Classical Collection Preserved in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Museum of Archaeology of Leiden, Part II: S-Gravenhage, Neitherlands, Martinus Nijhoff (1930). Pp. viii+19, with 20 plates. *Gld.* 30.
- BRAUNLICH, ALICE FREDA, "Virgil and the New Morality," the *South Atlantic Quarterly* xxx (1931), 155-67.
- BUECHELER, F., *Kleine Schriften*, Band III: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1930). Pp. 439. M. 20.
- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, No. 31: Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" (Avril, 1931). Pp. 76. *Fr.* 3.
- BURNS, R. E., AND BURNS, A. E., *Latin for Juniors*, a Second Year Latin Book: London, Macmillan and Co. (1930). Pp. 194. 2s.
- BURTON, HARRY EDWIN, AND GUMMERE, RICHARD MOTT, *Latin — Fourth Year* (Climax Series): New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1931). Pp. iv+439+105. Ill. \$1.88.
- COLE, HELEN WIELAND, *The Writing on the Wall*, or Glimpses from the Pompeian Graffiti into the Daily Life of the Ancient Romans (*Bulletin XXIV*): New York, Service Bureau for Classical Teachers (1931). Pp. 10. \$0.45.
- MEYER, EDUARD, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Band II, Abt. 2; Der Orient

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City.

- von 12. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts²: Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger (1931). Pp. x+460. M. 22.
- NAIRN, J. A., *A Hand-List of Books Relating to the Classics and Classical Antiquity*, Enlarged by B. H. Blackwell: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell (1931). Pp. 161. 1s.
- NUTTING, HERBERT C., "Comments on Lucan," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* xi (1931), 105-17: Berkeley, University of California Press.
- OWEN, A. S., AND WEBSTER, T. B. L., *Forum Romanum*, Excerpta ex Antiquis Scriptoribus Quae ad Forum Romanum Spectant Comparaverunt: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp. 88, with a chart. \$1.75.
- PICKETT, CORA AILEEN, *The Temple of Quirinus*: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania (1930). Pp. 51, with plan.
- POTEAT, HUBERT MCNEILL, *Selected Letters of Cicero*²: Boston, D. C. Heath and Co. (1931). Pp. xiv+276. \$1.60.
- PRYCE, F. N., *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, Vol. I, Part 2; Cypriote and Etruscan: London, British Museum (1931). Pp. vii+261, with 6 plates. £1.
- RAND, EDWARD KENNARD, *The Magical Art of Virgil*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1931). Pp. xiv+458. \$5.
- RANDALL-MACIVER, DAVID, *Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1931). Pp. xii+226. \$5.
- RICHMOND, IAN ARCHIBALD, *The City Wall of Ancient Rome*: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp. 294, with 22 plates. \$15.
- ROSS, W. D., EDITOR, *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. III; *Meteorologica* by E. W. Webster, *De Mundo* by E. S. Forster, *De Anima* by J. A. Smith, *Parva Naturalia* by J. I. Beare and G. R. T. Ross, *De Spiritu* by J. F. Dobson, Translations into English: New York, Oxford University Press (1931). \$7.
- SANDERS, HENRY A., "Two Fragmentary Birth Certificates from the Michigan Collection," and "Some Papyrus Fragments from the Michigan Collection," Extracts from the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* ix (1931), 61-88, with 4 plates.
- TATE, JONATHAN, *The Satires of A. Persius Flaccus*, Rendered into English Verse with an Introduction and Notes: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell (1930). Pp. 68. 4s. 6d.
- THOMSON, J. A. K., *Plato and Aristotle*: London, Ernest Benn (1930). Pp. 80. 6d.
- TREMENHEERE, S. G., *The Elegies of Propertius in a Reconditioned Text*, with a Rendering in Verse and a Commentary: London, Simpkin Marshall (1931). Pp. xiv+539. 21s.